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ASSURBANIPAL'S ELAMITE CAMPAIGNS: A LITERARY AND POLITICAL
STUDY

University of Pennsylvania

PH.D. 1987

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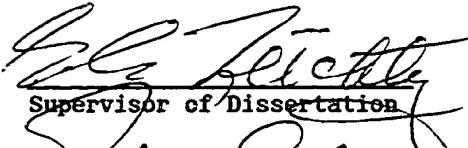
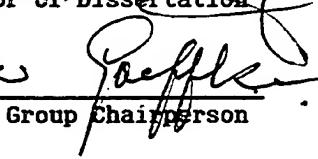
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ASSURBANIPAL'S ELAMITE CAMPAIGNS:
A Literary and Political Study

Pamela D. Gerardi

A DISSERTATION
in
ORIENTAL STUDIES
1987

Presented to the Faculties of the University of Pennsylvania in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.


Eric H. Goellner
Supervisor of Dissertation

Eric H. Goellner
Graduate Group Chairperson

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PAMELA D. GERARDI

1987

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ABSTRACT

ASSURBANIPAL'S ELAMITE CAMPAIGNS:

A POLITICAL AND LITERARY STUDY

by

PAMELA D. GERARDI

ADVISOR: ERLE LEICHTY

This study offers a critical discussion and analysis of the Elamite campaigns of the Assyrian king Assurbanipal (668-627 BC).

Chapter One presents the historical background of Assurbanipal's relations with the Elamites, reviewing Assyro-Elamite relations in the century prior to his reign.

Chapter Two introduces the sources for the study of Assyrian history. In particular, the use and analysis of the royal inscriptions known as "annals" are discussed in detail, with special attention paid to the literary form of the annals and its development from the Middle Assyrian period to the period of Assurbanipal.

Chapter Three examines in detail the individual Assyro-Elamite conflicts during Assurbanipal's reign, both in terms of the political and historical course of events and in terms of the literary construction of the accounts.

Chapter Four resumes the discussion of the literary form of the annals in light of information gleaned from the analysis in Chapter Three. This discussion concludes that changes evident in the overall

structure and arrangement of the annals and the individual Elamite "campaign" narratives were a sophisticated effort to render the apparent geographical arrangement of the campaign narratives into a topical arrangement. Recognition that the arrangement is topical points to an important development in Assyrian historical writing: military campaigns were not considered individual unrelated events but were seen as interrelated, and the history of each event was understood.

The second half of Chapter Four summarizes the conclusions concerning the Assyro-Elamite conflicts reached in Chapter Three. These conclusions are discussed in terms of a developing policy. It is concluded that Elamite willingness to interfere in Babylonian attempts to maintain or regain independence resulted in increasingly aggressive Assyrian reactions which, in turn, led to an increasing instability of the Elamite throne. This instability in Elam offered ever greater opportunities for Babylonia's rebels to find, in Elam, support in their endeavors and refuge in their flight. This situation led to a vicious cycle of hostility which ultimately led to the destruction of Elam as a political and military power in the region.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A	tablets in the collections of the University of Chicago
AAA	<i>Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology</i>
ABL	R.F. Harper, <i>Assyrian and Babylonian Letters Belonging to the K(ouyunjik) Collection(s) of the British Museum.</i>
ADD	C.H.W. Johns, <i>Assyrian Deeds and Documents</i>
AfK	<i>Archiv für Keilschriftforschung</i>
AfO	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>
AHw	W. von Soden, <i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i>
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AnOr	<i>Analecta Orientalia</i>
AnSt	<i>Anatolian Studies</i>
AOAT	<i>Alter Orient und Altes Testament</i>
ARAB	D.D. Luckenbill, <i>Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia</i>
ARINH	F.M. Fales, ed., <i>Assyrian Royal Inscriptions: New Horizons in Literary, Ideological, and Historical Interpretation</i>
AS	<i>Assyriological Studies</i>
Aynard, <i>Prisme</i>	J.-M. Aynard, <i>Le prisme du Louvre AO 19.939</i>
BaM	<i>Baghdader Mitteilungen</i>
Barnett, Sculptures	R.D. Barnett, <i>Sculptures from the North Palace of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh (668-627 B.C.)</i>
Barnett and Falkner, Sculptures	R.D. Barnett and M. Falkner, <i>The Sculptures of Assur-naṣir-apli II ...</i>
Bauer, <i>IWA</i>	T. Bauer, <i>Das Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals. 2 volumes</i>

<i>BEHE'</i>	<i>Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, Sciences philologiques et historiques</i>
<i>BiOr</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i>
<i>BM</i>	tablets in the collections of the British Museum
<i>Borger, Asarh.</i>	<i>R. Borger, Die Inschriften Asarhaddons Königs von Assyrien (AfO Beiheft 9)</i>
<i>Borger, EAK</i>	<i>R. Borger, Einleitung in die assyrischen Königsinschriften, volume 1</i>
<i>Botta</i>	<i>P.É. Botta and E. Flandin, Monument de Ninive, ...</i>
<i>Brinkman, PKB</i>	<i>J.A. Brinkman, A Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia, 1158-722 B.C. (AnOr 43)</i>
<i>Brinkman, Prelude</i>	<i>J.A. Brinkman, Prelude to Empire: Babylonian Society and Politics, 747-626 B.C. (OPBF 7)</i>
<i>CAD</i>	<i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i>
<i>CAH</i>	<i>The Cambridge Ancient History</i>
<i>Cameron, HEI</i>	<i>G.C. Cameron, History of Early Iran.</i>
<i>Carter, Elam</i>	<i>E. Carter and M. Stolper, Elam: Surveys of Political History and Archaeology, Part 2: Archaeology</i>
<i>CT</i>	<i>Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets</i>
<i>DAFI</i>	<i>Cahiers de la Délégation archéologique française en Iran</i>
<i>DT</i>	tablets in the collections of the British Museum
<i>Ellis, Foundation Deposits</i>	<i>R. Ellis, Foundation Deposits in Ancient Mesopotamia. (Yale Near Eastern Researches 21)</i>
<i>Eph'al, Arabs</i>	<i>I. Eph'al, The Ancient Arabs: Nomads on the Borders of the Fertile Crescent, 9th-5th Centuries B.C.</i>
<i>Frame, Babylonia</i>	<i>G. Frame, "Babylonia 689-627 B.C.: A Political History." Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation. University of Chicago. 1981</i>

Freedman, <i>St. Louis Tablets</i>	R.D. Freedman, "The Cuneiform Tablets in St. Louis." Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation. Columbia University. 1975
Gadd, <i>SA</i>	C.J. Gadd, <i>The Stones of Assyria</i>
Grayson, <i>ARI</i>	A.K. Grayson, <i>Assyrian Royal Inscriptions</i> , 2 volumes
<i>HHI</i>	H. Tadmor and M. Weinfield, eds., <i>History, Historiography and Interpretation: Studies in Biblical and Cuneiform Literatures</i>
Hinz, <i>Elam</i>	W. Hinz, <i>The Lost World of Elam</i>
HS	tablets in the Hilprecht Collection (Jena)
JA	<i>Journal asiatique</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JCS	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JRAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
K.	tablets in the collections of the British Museum
Knudtzon, <i>Gebete</i>	J.A. Knudtzon, <i>Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnengott für Staat und königliches Haus aus der Zeit Asarhaddons und Assurbanipals</i>
König, <i>Inscriften</i>	F.W. König, <i>Die elamischen Königsinschriften</i> . (AfO Beiheft 9.)
Lambert-Millard, <i>Catalogue</i>	W.G. Lambert and A.R. Millard, <i>Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum</i>
Lie, <i>Sargon</i>	A.G. Lie, <i>The Inscriptions of Sargon II, King of Assyria</i>
Loud I	G. Loud et. al., <i>Khorsabad: Part I (OIP 38.)</i> , Part 2 (OIP 40)
MAH	tablets in the collections of the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire Genève
MAOG	<i>Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft</i>

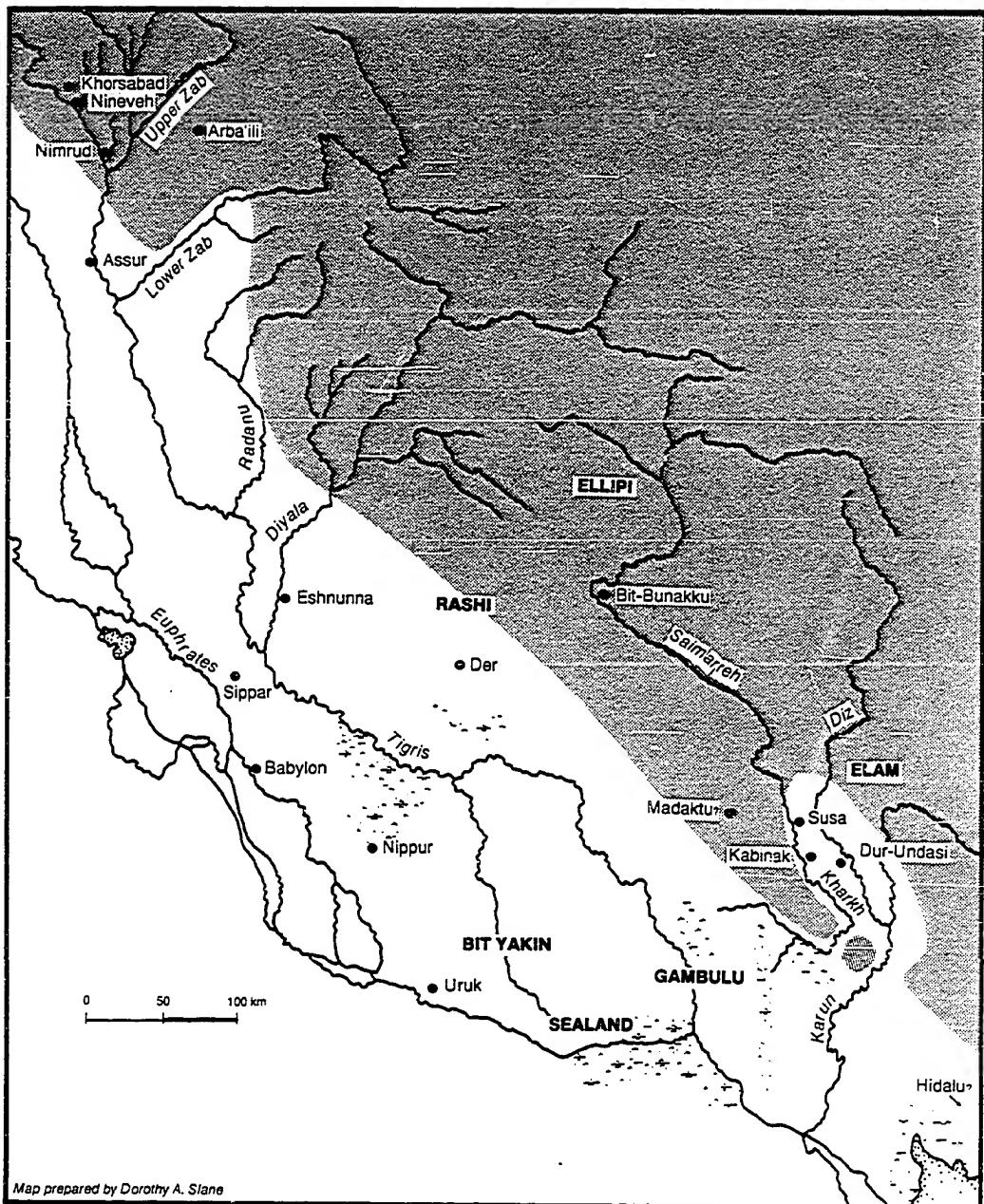
<i>MCAAS</i>	<i>Memoires of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences</i>
<i>MIO</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung</i>
<i>NBC</i>	tablets in the Nies Babylonian Collection (Yale University)
<i>Oppenheim, Dreams</i>	<i>A.L. Oppenheim, The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East. (TAPS 46.3)</i>
<i>OrNS</i>	<i>Orientalia Nova Series</i>
<i>OIP</i>	<i>Oriental Institute Publications</i>
<i>OPBF</i>	<i>Occasional Publications of the Babylonian Fund, The University Museum</i>
<i>Parpola, LAS</i>	<i>S. Parpola, Letters from Assyrian Scholars to the Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal. (AOAT 5/1-2.)</i>
<i>Paterson, AS</i>	<i>A. Paterson, Assyrian Sculptures: Palace of Sinacherib</i>
<i>Postgate, Taxation</i>	<i>N. Postgate, Taxation and Conscription in the Assyrian Empire (Studia Pohl: Series Maior 3.)</i>
<i>Power and Propaganda</i>	<i>M.T. Larsen, ed., Power and Propaganda: A Symposium on Ancient Empires. (Mesopotamia 8.)</i>
<i>Proceedings</i>	<i>Proceedings of the 25th Congress of Orientalists, Moscow, 1960</i>
<i>R</i>	<i>H.C. Rawlinson, The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia</i>
<i>RA</i>	<i>Revue d'assyriologie</i>
<i>Rep. Geo.</i>	<i>Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes</i>
<i>RIA</i>	<i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie</i>
<i>Rm.</i>	tablets in the collections of the British Museum
<i>Rost, Tiglat-Pileser</i>	<i>P. Rost, Die Keilschrifttexte Tiglat-Pileser III.</i>
<i>Russell, Palace without Rival</i>	<i>J.M. Russell, "Palace Without Rival: A Programmatic Study of Texts and Images in a Late Assyrian Palace." Unpublished Ph.D dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1985</i>

Schramm, EAK	W. Schramm, <i>Einleitung in die assyrischen Königsinschriften, volume 2</i>
Scheil, <i>Prisme S</i>	V. Scheil, <i>Le prisme S d'Assarhaddon</i>
Seux, <i>Épithètes</i>	M.-J. Seux, <i>Épithètes royales akkadiennes et sumériennes.</i>
Sm.	tablets in the collections of the British Museum
Stolper, <i>Elam</i>	E. Carter, and M. Stolper, <i>Elam: Surveys of Political History and Archaeology, Part 1: Political History</i>
StOr	<i>Studia Orientalia</i>
Streck, <i>Asb.</i>	M. Streck, <i>Assurbanipal und die letzten assyrischen Könige bis zum Untergange Niniveh's.</i> 3 volumes
Studies Finkelstein	M. deJ. Ellis ed., <i>Essays on the Ancient Near East in Memory of Jacob Joel Finkelstein (MCAAS 19)</i>
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Studies Oppenheim	R.D. Biggs and J.A Brinkman, eds., <i>Studies Presented to A. Leo. Oppenheim</i>
TAPS	<i>Transactions of the American Philosophical Society</i>
TCS	<i>Texts from Cuneiform Sources</i>
TH	tablets in the collections of the British Museum
Thompson, <i>PEA</i>	R.C. Thompson, <i>The Prisms of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal.</i>
UF	<i>Ugarit-Forschungen</i>
VAT	tablets in the collection of the Vorderasiatisches Museum (Berlin)
WO	<i>Die Welt des Orients</i>
Winckler, <i>SKT</i>	H. Winckler, <i>Sammlung von Keilschrifttexten III.: Die Keilschrifttexte Assurbanipals</i>
Wiseman, <i>Vassal Treaties</i>	D.J. Wiseman, <i>The Vassal Treaties of Esarhaddon (Iraq 20)</i>
ZA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie</i>

NOTE ON DATING

In the discussion that follows, each year has been given a single Julian year equivalent even though the Assyrian/Babylonian year actually included parts of two Julian years. Thus events that are discussed as having taken place late in the year 647 actually took place in the Julian year of 646. Month names are cited either by name or by roman numeral according to their position in the Babylonian year. When a month is cited by name the roman numeral follows it in parentheses thus: Nisanu (I). The names of the Assyrian and Babylonian months are listed below:

I	Nisanu	VII	Tashritu
II	Iyyaru	VIII	Arahsamnu
III	Simanu	IX	Kislimu
IV	Tammuzu	X	Tebetu
V	Abu	XI	Shabattu
VI	Uluiu	XII	Addaru



Assyria, Babylonia, and Elam in the Neo-Assyrian Period

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

The heartland of the Assyrian empire was located in the region east of the Tigris river between the Upper and Lower Zab rivers. The empire extended west across Syria to the Mediterranean coast, south to the Persian Gulf and parts of Northern Arabia, and at times into Egypt (figure 1).

Studies of Neo-Assyrian relations in the past have focused on the western front due to the interests of Biblical scholars and the availability of archaeological data from Syria, Lebanon, Israel, and Turkey. By contrast no studies have been made to date which treat Assyria's relations with her southeastern neighbor Elam despite Elam's prominence in Mesopotamian historical documents from the earliest periods.¹

The aim of this study is to examine Assyria's foreign policy toward her neighbor Elam as it is expressed or reflected in the Assyrian documents. The geographic boundaries of the polities which make up Elam are unclear. Elam was, in general, located in present day Iran in the region east of the Tigris river. It incorporated the lowlands of central Khuzistan and the surrounding highlands, extending east as far as Anshan, south to Liyan, and at times it reached as far west as the Diyala Valley. The lowland areas of Elam were in large measure protected from Assyrian encroachment by the surrounding highlands in the north and by marshes in the southwest. At the same time the region was open to contact and influences from the west.

This study is limited to an examination of Assyro-Elamite political relations during the reign of the Assyrian king Assurbanipal (668-627 BC). This period was chosen because of the amount and variety of documentation revealing a large number of Assyro-Elamite political and military encounters. These documents also suggest that Assyrian foreign policy toward Elam changed greatly during the period, beginning with a "treaty of friendship" and ending with the destruction of the royal cities of Elam in 647 BC. The nature of the source material limits the study to a political and military analysis; questions of socio-economic relations must be left aside until such time as a greater number of the economic and administrative texts of the period become available.

The core of the study focuses on the use and analysis of the source material with special attention paid to the "genre" of royal inscriptions known as the annals. The literary form we call annals was developed during the eleventh century BC by the Assyrian scribes. Although the Assyrian scribes used this literary form for over 500 years it never attained a standard form. The term "annals" assigned by modern scholarship to these documents is also something of a misnomer since the campaigns were not always arranged chronologically or dated by year. By the time of Assurbanipal the arrangement of military campaigns in the annals was primarily geographical and only secondarily chronological.

Although the annals have been known for over a century and many examples published and available, their structure as a literary form has been much misunderstood. Their simple language disguised the

complexities of their narratives and only recently has scholarship begun to realize their importance as literature and the valuable information contained not only in the content of their texts but in the relationship of one edition to another and in the relationship between form and content. This study is to a great extent an examination of these relationships.

Chapter Two presents the sources used in this study, with particular emphasis placed on the annals and presents the methodology to be followed in Chapter Three. A brief history of the development of the literary form of the annals is provided pointing out certain features which will be developed in Chapter Three and in Chapter Four's conclusions. A brief discussion of some of the previous studies of the annals and what they have revealed about the form, content, and purpose of the documents is given followed by a summary of the known editions of Assurbanipal's annals. Chapter Two concludes with an introduction to the other sources which are used in this study.

Chapter Three is divided into five parts, each of which is devoted to a discussion of a single Elamite "campaign." The discussion in each case presents the accounts of the individual campaigns included in each of the editions, their development, and the significance of their variations in content or style from one edition to another. The date of the events narrated in the accounts is determined and the other documents that contain information about the events are discussed in terms of the course of events. In three cases additional discussion focuses on the construction of the campaign accounts either because they illuminate scribal editing procedures, demonstrate special

techniques for indicating multiple time frames, or for the appearance of other unusual literary forms within the narrative.

The final chapter, the conclusions, presented in two sections gives the results of this study and will show that Assurbanipal's scribes made use of a variety of literary techniques, hitherto unrecognized in the annals, to render what is at first glance a geographical arrangement of military campaigns into a topical arrangement. Recognizing that the arrangement is topical points to an important development in Assyrian historical writing: military campaigns were not considered individual unrelated events but were seen as interrelated, and the history of each event understood.

The second part of the conclusions considers the development of Assyrian relations with Elam in light of Chapter Three's analysis of the Assyrian documents and places those events in the historical context of Assyrian relations with Elam in the Sargonid period (721-609). This section will demonstrate that virtually all Assyro-Elamite military encounters were the direct result of Babylonian efforts to maintain or regain their independence from Assyria and Assyrian efforts to forestall Elamite aid to Babylonia. Elamite willingness to aid Babylonia seems ultimately to have led to an increasing instability within Elam which in turn brought increased border conflicts with Assyria and increasingly aggressive Assyrian responses. The increasing conflict with Assyria exacerbated Elam's instability and plunged both countries into a vicious cycle of hostility which finally led to the destruction of Elam as a politically viable entity. The fall of Elam ultimately led to the destruction of Assyria herself, as the loss of a

buffer state allowed the settling of the region by the Medes and the Persians, who a short time later overran the Assyrian empire.

Historical Background

In order to properly evaluate the events of Assurbanipal's reign it is important to review briefly Assyria's relationship with both Babylonia to the south and Elam to the southeast.

Tiglath-pileser III (745-727),² responsible for renewed Assyrian expansion in the late eighth century, records no specific military activity against the Elamites, nor does he even refer to his southeastern neighbor.³ There were, however, several forays into Elam as part of Tiglath-pileser's campaigns against the Arameans in southern Babylonia⁴ which extended as far as the Uqnu (Kharkh) river in Elam.⁵

There were two campaigns conducted against Babylonia, one at the very beginning and one at the very end of Tiglath-pileser's reign; both were aimed principally at the tribal regions of the south. The majority of Tiglath-pileser's attention during his reign was directed toward military conquest and expansion to the north and west, Babylonia for the most part was left to itself under the leadership of Nabonassar (747-734). The campaign in 745 against northern and eastern Babylonia focused specifically on the Aramean tribes and left most of the traditional cities of Babylonia untouched.

With the death of Nabonassar and the ensuing instability in Babylonia, Tiglath-pileser's hands-off policy in Babylonia altered. Nabu-nadin-zeri succeeded his father, Nabonassar, in 734. He was deposed in 732 by a Babylonian provincial official--Nabu-shum-ukin II.

Nabu-shum-ukin II was in turn deposed by a Chaldaean of the Bit-Amukani tribe, Mukin-zeri (731-729).⁶ Whether in response to the apparent instability in Babylonia or to the presence of a Chaldaean on the throne, Tiglath-pileser reacted with vigor, concentrating his efforts over the next three years to removing Mukin-zeri from the Babylonian throne.

Tiglath-pileser attempted to remove Mukin-zeri, at first, through diplomacy,⁷ but he soon turned to his army for a solution, campaigning in Bit-Amukani and Bit-Sha'alli. After successfully ridding Babylonia of Mukin-zeri, Tiglath-pileser assumed the kingship of Babylonia and probably resided in Babylon for the final two years of his reign.⁸

There is virtually no documentation for the reign of Shalmaneser V, Tiglath-pileser's heir, who reigned only a brief 5 years (726-722). It is known that he, like his father, took the throne in Babylon before being deposed by a revolution.⁹

Sargon's reign (721-705)¹⁰ represents the first real Assyrian commitment to maintaining Babylonia as an Assyrian dependency, politically reorganizing the region to bring it firmly under the control of Assyria. This period also saw the first direct Assyrian military conflict with Elam. Sargon's accession (X/722) was accompanied by severe disturbances within the empire. Within Assyria itself there were rebellions of an unknown nature though severe enough to prevent Sargon from dealing with the rebellions in the west and south. In the west, the Syrian states banded together and rebelled, in the south, a Chaldean, Merodach-baladan, ascended the throne in Babylon in Nisanu (I) 721.¹¹

After restoring order in Assyria, Sargon proceeded south in 720, apparently in response to the approach of the Elamite army under its king, Humban-nikash. As an ally of Babylonia, the Elamites invaded Assyria although Babylonian troops never reached the battle. According to Assyrian sources Elam's services had been purchased by Merodach-baladan. The two armies met in a pitched battle at Der. The battle ended in a stalemate: the Elamite army won the battle in the field but Assyria retained control of her outpost, Der.¹²

With the retreat of the Elamite army to Elam, Sargon turned his attention to the rebellion of the Syrian states in the west. Babylon and her king, Merodach-baladan, were left to ten years of peace while Sargon campaigned in Syria, Anatolia, and particularly against the Urartians.

The new king in Babylon, Merodach-baladan (II), was the leader of the Bit-Yakin, the largest and most prosperous of the Chaldean tribes. He is known previously from a list of tribes who paid tribute to Tiglath-pileser at the end of the last Assyrian campaign in Babylonia (729). Nothing is known of relations between Assyria and Babylonia during this period. Merodach-baladan seems to have functioned in every way as a typical Babylonian monarch. Only a rather cryptic remark in the Babylonian Chronicle may attest to strained relations between the two regions (Chron. 1 i 42): "[Assyria/Sargon] was hostile towards Merod[ach-baladan]."

Sargon turned his attention south in his twelfth year (710). In anticipation of a possible Elamite-Babylonian alliance Sargon moved first against the eastern regions of Babylonia, effectively driving a

wedge between Merodach-baladan and the Elamites. After the defeat of Merodach-baladan at Dur-Athara, Merodach-baladan managed to escape to Elam. Again he sought the aid of the king of Elam, Shutruk-Nahhunte, offering a bribe. Shutruk-Nahhunte accepted the bribe but nevertheless denied Merodach-baladan the aid. Thus isolated, the Chaldean made his stand at his own city of Dur-Yakin and was defeated in 709. Sargon had already assumed the title of king of Babylon in 710, after capturing the city of Babylon. He remained in Babylonia until 707, reorganizing the tribal regions, appointing governors, and deporting the rebel populations. The flames of resistance seem to have been quieted and remained so for the duration of Sargon's reign.

There was one other confrontation between the Elamites and Assyria during Sargon's reign, in 708. Talta, king of Ellipi, located to the southeast of Assyria, died and the rule of Ellipi was contested between his two sons. Ellipi was at that time a vassal state of Assyria.¹³ One of the sons appealed to the Elamites for support and the other to Assyria. The battle that ensued was won by Sargon. This is the only Assyrian-Elamite confrontation that took place outside of the context of Babylonian affairs. This event represents an example of direct Elamite interference in Assyrian affairs even though it did not take place on Assyrian or Babylonian soil. The conflict is probably to be interpreted as an Elamite attempt to control the mountain passes of the north.¹⁴ Of the three incidents in which Elam is mentioned as a factor by the Assyrians, two of these involved Babylonia.

Merodach-baladan survived the reign of Sargon and upon the accession of Sargon's successor, Sennacherib (704-681), resumed his

anti-Assyrian activities.¹⁵ Sargon died while campaigning in the north and Sennacherib's succession was smooth inside Assyria, but may have been attended by rebellion in the empire.¹⁶ In 703, the throne of Babylon was seized by Marduk-zakir-shumi II who reigned only one month before he was deposed by Merodach-baladan. Once again Merodach-baladan sought the aid of the Elamites, offering the Elamite king substantial bribes as he had before. Shutruk-Nahhunte this time responded by sending a large army commanded by Elamite officers. The combined forces of Elam and Babylonia were unable to prevail against the Assyrian army and Merodach-baladan fled. Sennacherib pursued him unsuccessfully to the marshes of the south then returned to Babylon where he plundered the court of Merodach-baladan. Instead of taking the throne himself, as his father had, Sennacherib installed Bel-ibni, a native Babylonian who had been raised at the court of Assyria, as king in Babylon.

Bel-ibni's tenure in Babylon was short lived. For reasons that are unclear, in 700, Sennacherib again brought his army south, removed Bel-ibni to Assyria, and proceeded to southern Babylonia to which Merodach-baladan had evidently returned. Merodach-baladan and his people fled before the army of Assyria to refuge in Elam. Sennacherib returned to Babylon, placing his son, Assur-nadin-shumi on the throne.

In 694, in an aggressive move to recover and punish Merodach-baladan, his followers, and those Elamites who sheltered them, Sennacherib took his army south to the marshlands of the Elamite side of the Persian Gulf. There he defeated the Elamites and the Chaldeans, deporting them to Assyria. At the same time, however, the Elamite

king, Hallushu-Inshushinak, led an Elamite army into Babylonia, capturing Sippar and removing Assur-nadin-shumi to Elam where he disappeared. The Elamite king then installed his own nominee, Nergal-ushezib, as king in Babylon. The next year saw the armies of Elam, Assyria, and Nergal-ushezib actively campaigning in Babylonia. In the month of Tashritu (VII) 693, Nergal-ushezib was captured by the Assyrian troops and sent to Assyria. Shortly after, a rebellion in Elam removed Hallushu-Inshushinak and brought Kudur-Nahhunte to the throne in Elam. After the capture of Nergal-ushezib, Sennacherib made a direct assault on Elamite territory, attacking Elam "from Rashi to Bit-Burnaki." The throne in Babylon was taken by Mushezib-Marduk of the Bit-Dakkuri tribe who ruled, unchallenged by Assyria, until 691. The following year Kudur-Nahhunte was deposed in a rebellion which brought Humban-nimena to the throne in Elam.

Not surprisingly, Mushezib-Marduk appealed to the newly enthroned Elamite king, sending along a substantial gift, for military aid. In 691, the combined Babylonian and Elamite forces, joined by Ellipi, Anshan, and Parsuash, met the Assyrian army at Halule. The Assyrians claimed a victory, but the Babylonian Chronicle reports an Assyrian defeat.¹⁷ Whatever the situation, Assyria was sufficiently recovered in 690 to lay siege to Babylon itself. The city held out for over 15 months but fell to the Assyrians in 1/IX/689. The city was, according to Sennacherib's account in the Bavian Inscription,¹⁸ utterly destroyed. That same year Humban-nimena of Elam died and was succeeded by Humban-haltash I.¹⁹ The remaining 8 years of Sennacherib's reign left Babylonia kingless, but without incident. Sennacherib's three

conflicts with Elam can all be associated with Babylonian unrest. The Assyrian response to Elamite aid to Babylonia became more aggressive; twice they crossed the borders with Elam, once to recover fugitives and once to secure the mountain passes and fortify the region.

The southeastern front was relatively quiet during Esarhaddon's reign (680-669), while he rebuilt the city of Babylon and concluded a peace treaty with Elam's king, Urtak. Four times during his reign Esarhaddon sent troops to Babylonia: 680, 678, 675, and 674.

In the first year of Esarhaddon's reign, 680, a Chaldean of Bit-Yakin, Nabu-zer-kitti-lishir, laid siege to the city of Ur in southern Babylonia. Nabu-zer-kitti-lishir's actions in the south were an attempt to take advantage of the rebellions within Assyria at the time. Sennacherib's murder had touched off a struggle for the throne that was finally won by Esarhaddon. A perception of Assyrian weakness is nicely demonstrated by a contemporary letter VAT 1923.²⁰ This letter, a report of a Babylonian effort to secure the aid of the Elamite king in a Babylonian rebellion, records the sending of generous gifts to the Elamite king. Ur was relieved by the approach of Assyrian troops. Nabu-zer-kitti-lishir along with his brother, Na'id-Marduk, fled before the troops of Assyria to Elam, seeking sanctuary with the Elamite King, Humban-haltash II (680-675). The Elamite king, however, killed Nabu-zer-kitti-lishir.²¹ Na'id-Marduk fled Elam and submitted to the Assyrian king. He was rewarded with the governorship of the Sealand.

The next military action against Babylonia, in 678, is known only from brief notices recorded in Esarhaddon's annals and the Babylonian Chronicle. The Chronicle mentions only that one Shamash-ibni, a

Chaldean of the Bit-Dakkuri tribe was removed to Assyria. There is no mention of Elamite involvement.

In 675, a brief notice in the Babylonian Chronicle reports that the Elamites attacked and sacked Sippar.²² Without further comment the Chronicle goes on to report that the Elamite king, Humban-haltash, died in his palace "without becoming ill" and that he was succeeded by Urtak. This same Chronicle also reports that two persons of Bit-Dakkuri, a mayor and a man named Kudurru, were transported to Assyria. This disconnected list of events leaves us without much information on which to base an interpretation of an Elamite attack on Sippar. If the attack represents a lone Elamite offensive into Babylonia, then it is an isolated event, without serious repercussions, since it excited no Assyrian response. On the other hand the action may have been taken in conjunction with whatever disturbance caused the transport of two persons from Bit-Dakkuri to Assyria. That is, it may have been part of a planned Babylonian-Elamite alliance gone awry. Two other Chronicle entries for 674 give similar lists of disconnected events. Chronicle 1 records that the Assyrian army was defeated in Egypt on the 8th of Addaru (XII) and that the gods of Agade went out from Elam and entered Agade on the 10th of Addaru (XII).²³ Chronicle 14 records for the same year that the Assyrian army was defeated in Egypt and that Assyria marched on the city of Sha'mele on the 8th of Addaru (XII).²⁴

The final item, the Assyrian assault on Sha'mele in southern Babylonia, is without further detail and otherwise unknown. The return of the gods of Agade to Agade, however, is an interesting event and may reflect the result of a treaty with Urtak, king of Elam, believed to

have been concluded at about this time, 674.

The only reference to this treaty occurs in Esarhaddon's annals, Nin. A.²⁵ The account claims that "the Elamite" sought peace and good relations with Assyria. Although the Elamite is not named, it must have been Urtak who ascended the throne in 675 at the death of Humban-haltash II and who is mentioned by Assurbanipal as having concluded a treaty with Esarhaddon.²⁶ The dates carried by the manuscripts of Nin. A are in 673. Therefore the treaty must have been concluded sometime between 675 and 673.

Assyrian conflict with Elam increases dramatically during Assurbanipal's reign (668-627). There were at least seven incidents (in 664, 653, 652, 651, 648, and two in 647) of direct confrontation between the two powers that are recorded in five *girru* (labeled Elam 1-5). At least four of these confrontations took place during or are associated with Assyrian difficulties in Babylonia (the Shamash-shum-ukin rebellion [652-648]). Figure 2 presents an overview of the chronology of the various campaigns undertaken by Assurbanipal in all parts of the empire.

FIGURE 2: CHRONOLOGY OF ASSURBANIPAL'S REIGN

669/IX	Assurbanipal ascends the throne
668	Assurbanipal's brother, Shamash-shum-ukin, ascends the throne in Babylon
667	Kirbit raids the borders of Eastern Babylonia; Assurbanipal captures the king of Kirbit
667	Assurbanipal's first campaign against Egypt; Yakinlu of Arwad brings his daughter with a dowry to Nineveh
c. 666-665	Gyges of Lydia seeks an alliance with Assurbanipal
664	Assurbanipal's second campaign against Egypt
664	Elam 1: Urtak king of Elam, breaks his treaty with Assyria and attacks Babylonia; Assurbanipal chases Urtak back to Elam; Urtak dies
c. 662	Siege of Tyre
c. 662-660	Kings of Tabal and Hilakku bring daughters with dowries to Nineveh
c. 660	Campaign against the Manneans
c. 658	Campaign against the Medes
c. 657	Campaign against Urartu
653/IV	Elam 2: Campaign against Te-Umman
652-648	Shamash-shum-ukin rebellion and Elam 3: campaigns against the Elamite kings Ummanigash, Tammaritu, and Indabibi
647/III	Elam 4: the campaign against the Elamite king Ummanaldas
647/?-647/XI	Elam 5: the second campaign against the Elamite king Ummanaldas
646	Death of Nabu-bel-shumate and the return of his body to Assyria
c. 645-643	Capture of the Elamite kings Ummanaldas and Pa'e; submission of Urartu
	Death of Gyges, Lydia overrun by the Cimmerians
642-639	Submission of Cyrus of Parsuash and the king of Hudirimu Dugdamme's attacks on Assyria

ENDNOTES

1. There are a few general histories of Elam which depend in large measure for their information on contemporary Mesopotamian documents: G. Cameron, *History of Early Iran* (Chicago:1936); W. Hinz, *The Lost World of Elam* (London:1972); and most recently E. Carter and M. Stolper, *Elam* (California:1984).
2. Tiglath-pileser's annals are difficult to use at present. The edition of Tiglath-pileser's annals prepared by Rost in 1893, is inadequate and incomplete; we await a new edition by Tadmor. See provisionally Tadmor, *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities* 2.9 (1967) 168-187. For a summary of Tiglath-pileser III's reign see Brinkman, *Prelude* 40-44 and n. 200.
3. Tiglath-pileser's references to Elam are exclusively in terms of geographical description: "on the border of Elam."
4. For Aramean tribes in Western Elam see Brinkman, *PKB* 229-231, 267-288, 387-389.
5. The Uqnu is variously identified as the Kharkh river (Carter, *Elam* 188; Brinkman, *PKB* 229) or the Diz river (*AOAT* 6). In this case probably the lower Kharkh since the location is described as "on the shore of the lower sea." Rost, *Tiglat-Pileser*, pl. XXXII:6 = ARAB 1 782.
6. Grayson, *TCS* 5, Chron. 1 i 14-18.
7. Brinkman, *Prelude* 42.
8. Grayson, *TCS* 5, Chron. 1 i 26.
9. Grayson, *TCS* 5, Chron. 1 i 27-30.
10. For the chronological problems and an outline of the reign of Sargon II see Tadmor, *JCS* 12 (1958) 22-40, 77-100 and Brinkman, *Prelude* 48-54.
11. Grayson, *TCS* 5, Chron. 1 i 32. Merodach-baladan's accession is given as the month of Nisanu (I). This is noted under the entry for the fifth year of Shalmaneser V, that is 722, but after the notice of Sargon's accession in the month of Tebetu (X). Thus Merodach-baladan must have taken the throne either in Nisan of 722, that is, prior to Sargon's accession or in Nisanu (I) of the following year 721. For a description of the career of Merodach-baladan II, see Brinkman, *Studies Oppenheim* 6-53, and of his relations with Elam, *JNES* 24 (1965) 161-166.
12. Lie, *Sargon* 43: 265-266. The battle at Der has been discussed in detail by Brinkman, *JNES* 24 (1965) 161-164; Grayson, *Studies Landsberger* 341-342; and see also Levine, *JCS* 34 (1982) 50 n. 70.

13. Lie, *Sargon* 72:13-75:8; Cameron, *HEI* 161; Tadmor, *JCS* 12; (1958) 96; Levine, *Mountains and Lowlands* 148-9.
14. Stolper, *Elam* 46.
15. Sennacherib's problems in Babylonia are discussed by Brinkman, *JCS* 25 (1973) 89-95, and Levine, *JCS* 34 (1982) 28-58.
16. Brinkman, *Prelude* 55 and n. 260.
17. Grayson, *TCS* 5, Chron. 1 iii 16-18.
18. *OIP* 2 82:35-85:60; Grayson, *TCS* 5, Chron. 1 iii 22-24.
19. Grayson, *TCS* 5, Chron. 1 iii 20-21, 25-27.
20. Weidner, *AfO* 17 (1954-1956) 5-9. The offer detailed by this letter was probably made to the Elamite king Humban-haltash II (680-675).
21. Grayson, *TCS* 5, Chron. 1 iii 39-42.
22. Grayson, *TCS* 5, Chron. 1 iv 9-10: discussed by Brinkman, *Prelude* 78 and n. 380.
23. Grayson, *TCS* 5, Chron. 1 iv 16-18.
24. Grayson, *TCS* 5, Chron. 14 20-22.
25. Borger, *Asarh.*, Nin. A, ep. 19. But note that Esarhaddon also reported fortifying his border with Elam: Borger, *Asarh.*, Nin. A, ep. 13 iii 80-83.
26. *AS* 5 56-57: B iv 18-19.

CHAPTER TWO: SOURCES

THE TEXTSIntroduction

The following discussion of the textual sources focuses largely on the annals since they represent the major Assyrian source for our knowledge of historical events in the Neo-Assyrian period. The annals are complex documents, written in the first person, which begin with the name of the king, his titulary, and epithets. They proceed with a narration of his military activities including, to varying degrees: the political background to the campaign (rebellion, the attack of foreign forces, etc.); the outcome of the campaign (always an Assyrian victory or at least expressed in the language of victory); and the final consequences for the defeated enemy (vassalage, deportation, etc.). The documents then conclude with a building inscription. These texts were usually inscribed on stone or clay objects: cylinders, prisms, stelae, or reliefs, and could be buried in the foundations of buildings or displayed in palaces and temples. Annals were rewritten and recast several times during a king's reign providing several, often different accounts of his campaigns.

The first section of this chapter focuses on the uniquely Assyrian genre we call annals.¹ It begins with a brief discussion of the development of the form of the annals. The complex problems of interpreting these documents is considered by reviewing some of the

many studies of these problems in recent years.

The second section introduces the various editions and display inscriptions of Assurbanipal.

Sections three, four, and five introduce the other textual sources used in this study.

The Annals

Unquestionably the most important source for the reconstruction of Neo-Assyrian history is the annals. The term annals, as with any genre label, is difficult to define and has in the past been applied to several different types of royal documents.² Basically, annals are building inscriptions written in the first person that contain narratives describing military actions. A more specific definition used in the following discussion is given below.

The annals were among the first documents to be found among the antiquities which flowed from the excavations of Assyrian sites during the nineteenth century. Usually written on objects (cylinders, prisms, stelae, reliefs, etc.), they stood out from the hoards of tablets found at the same time. The relative ease with which they could be translated contributed to their early publication (many were available in the 1870-80's).³ Although the rapid publication of these texts and their obvious importance has made them available for study for over a century, the relatively simple language of the texts and their obvious "propagandistic" intent have caused scholars to take a rather superficial view of them and to produce relatively simplistic treatments of them.⁴ Several scholars in the early years of Assyriology commented on the complexities of these documents,⁵ but only in the recent past has there been a renewed interest in a closer examination of them.⁶

Several terms that are commonly used, often inconsistently, in discussing the annals are defined here as I will be using them. An edition is one of a series of a king's inscriptions that was reissued

at different times and differs from the others by alterations, additions, or omissions.

Sub-editions are those editions which exhibit variants involving a few lines of text rather than an entire campaign account or entire section which some scholars feel substantially alter the meaning of a section of the introduction or military narration. In order to define a sub-edition these variants must occur in more than one manuscript or "copy," thus establishing that that particular variant was perpetuated to some degree.

Often used interchangeably with edition by many scholars, recension is used here to refer to the recasting of an individual campaign account from one edition to another. Thus a particular campaign may appear in several different editions of the annals but may only have one recension, that is, it was copied verbatim in each edition.

An episode is a modern subdivision of a campaign and refers to individual events occurring in the course of the campaign.

Finally, the term annalistic is usually used to refer to texts which, like the annals, contain narratives of military events. They include "display" texts (discussed in detail below) as well as texts too fragmentary to assign to a specific category of royal inscription.

*The Development of the Annals*⁷

Although the annals are treated separately here, they are, in fact, part of a much larger category: commemorative inscriptions, specifically building inscriptions.⁸ Annalistic texts first appear⁹ in Assyria during the reign of Adad-nirari I (1305-1274).¹⁰ At that time, the first detailed military narration inserted in a building inscription appears. The military narration is placed after the king's epithets and before the building inscription. A similar inscription of Shalmaneser I (1273-1244),¹¹ in an unsuccessful experiment, moves the military narration to within the epithet section, that is, to within the subject of the text. The military narration is marked off from the epithets by a temporal clause, "when...." The remainder of the subject (the epithets) resumes at the end of the military narration.

Tukulti-Ninurta I (1243-1207)¹² also uses this rather clumsy arrangement devised in the reign of his predecessor, but in a second edition returns the military narration to its "original" position after the entire epithet section.¹³ There is very little textual material for the next century until the reign of Tiglath-pileser I (1114-1076), when a "true" version of the annals is encountered.¹⁴ The text, written on a prism, displays all of the features, including the characteristic literary style, that is associated with the annals.¹⁵

The text begins with an invocation to the gods followed by the name of the king, his titles, and epithets. Next follows a narration of military campaigns of the first five years of Tiglath-pileser's reign. Each entry, signifying one year, is separated by a paean of praise for Tiglath-pileser. At the end of the military narration

follows an account of his hunting exploits, an account of his building accomplishments, and a genealogy. The text concludes with the main building account, curse formulae, and the date, in Assyrian fashion, given as an eponym.¹⁶ A second edition¹⁷ of Tiglath-pileser's annals alters the pattern of the first by replacing the paean of praise which separated each entry with a line drawn across the face of the prism and by also indenting the first line of each entry. Although neither text dates the entries (except for the first: "in my accession year"), the military narration of both concludes with the phrase "Altogether I conquered 42 lands and their rulers from ... to ..., from my accession year to my nth regnal year." The individual military accounts are arranged chronologically.¹⁸

Assur-bel-kala (1073-1056),¹⁹ utilizes the same basic format, but makes several alterations and one important addition. The beginning invocation is omitted; the text begins with the king's name, titles, and epithets, and the genealogy is moved from the end of the text up to the introduction. More importantly, Assur-bel-kala begins to date each entry of his military narration according to the pattern, "in the month x, in the eponym year (*lIšu*) of y." The arrangement is chronological and the narratives detailed. An unsuccessful experiment can be seen in the fourth column of Assur-bel-kala's Broken Obelisk inscription,²⁰ where the narrative abruptly changes from first person narration to a third person narration of a hunting expedition and then shifts back to the first person for the fifth column, the building account.

Royal inscriptions are scarce for the next century until the

reign of Assur-dan II (934-912)²¹ who basically retains the format of Assur-bel-kala, omitting the invocation and retaining the genealogy in the introduction, but rejecting Assur-bel-kala's innovation of dating the military entries.

Adad-nirari II's (911-891)²² annals reintroduce the internal dating of the campaigns as well as the use of an invocation at the beginning of the annals.

With the reign of Assurnasirpal II (883-859)²³ the amount of source material increases dramatically, and the practice of dating each individual military narrative seems firmly entrenched.

Shalmaneser III's (858-824) inscriptions introduce a new form of dating in the annals; edition C uses the word *pali*, "regnal year,"²⁴ in place of eponyms to date the military activities.

His successor, Shamshi-Adad V (823-811),²⁵ also breaks with tradition, using an entirely new phrase to introduce individual military accounts; he uses *girru*, "campaign" in his Monolith Inscription and assigns numbers to the military campaigns "in my first, second, third, etc. campaign."²⁶

The tradition of writing annalistic texts continues, but records are fragmentary for succeeding kings until the reign of Tiglath-pileser III (745-727)²⁷ when, once again, the number of sources increases. The practice of using *pali*, sporadic in the past, is revived under Tiglath-pileser III. Sargon II (721-705) retains *pali* as his only method of dating his campaigns.²⁸ There are, however, some irregularities in the use of *pali* in Sargon's inscriptions. Tadmor, in a study of Sargon's inscriptions, notes that in one inscription the events of year 2 (720)

were dated to Sargon's second *pali* and in another inscription the events of year 2 were dated to Sargon's first *pali*.²⁹ Tadmor believes this to be the result of an idea that for every *pali* there must be a campaign.³⁰ Thus, in times of internal disturbances when the king could not conduct a campaign against one of Assyria's traditional enemies or when continuous disturbances caused campaigns lasting more than one year, the "loaded" concept of *pali* became a problem.³¹ In Sargon's case, the scribes attempted to "normalize" the chronology.

Tadmor believes that the succeeding development under Sennacherib (704-681) came about as an attempt to deal with these same problems. Sennacherib abandons the use of *pali* in his inscriptions in favor of *girru*, "campaign." Sennacherib, like his father Sargon, did not conduct any campaigns in his first year, but his arrangement "in my first campaign..." obscures this fact and even grants the illusion of a campaign in his first year.³² In fact, the first time *girru* is used to arrange the campaigns, under Shamshi-Adad V (823-811), it occurs in just such a context. Shamshi-Adad did not campaign in the first three years of his reign. Just what is meant by *girru* (lit. campaign), however, is not entirely clear. The standard definition, that the campaign begins when the army goes out and ends when the army returns, does not seem to hold in every case.

Levine, in his analysis of Sennacherib's campaigns,³³ demonstrates that Sennacherib's first and second campaigns were, in fact, one (assuming the principle that the campaign begins when the army departs and ends when the army returns), since there is no statement at the end of the first campaign indicating that the Assyrian

army returned home before embarking on the the second. What is interesting here is that according to the available chronology the scribe broke the campaign at the New Year.³⁴ That is, the scribe made the events of the following year a new campaign. Another example of the scribe splitting a campaign into two occurs in Sennacherib's Nebi Yunus inscription.³⁵ The Nebi Yunus inscription does not arrange its campaigns according to *girru*, but it nevertheless places a break in its account of the sixth campaign by using the word *arka*, "afterwards," between the Assyrian offense and the Elamite counter attack. According to the chronology of this campaign, this break also occurs at the New Year.³⁶ Perhaps the scribes, trained during the previous administration at a time when the military narration was ordered by regnal year (*palū*), found this new scheme somewhat confusing.³⁷

Up until this point the various techniques of separating the campaign narratives were chronological whether or not they were introduced by some chronological phrase, "in the eponym of ..." or "in my nth regnal year." Even the new arrangement by *girru* was numbered and ordered chronologically under Shamshi-Adad V (823-811) and Sennacherib (704-681). The change from *līmu/palū* to *girru*, as discussed above, seems to have been an attempt to break out of the strictures of the single year format. The relatively stable borders of Sennacherib's kingdom which did not require the maintenance of yearly campaigns combined with one particularly troublesome region meant that there were no campaigns in some years and at other times the campaigns could last into a second year. The irregularity of these campaigns were disguised by the term *girru* which gave the military narration the

appearance of being in the same format as the annals of the previous kings of Assyria.

Succeeding developments under Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal are more radical; the chronological arrangement is abandoned and the campaigns are arranged geographically. Esarhaddon, furthermore, omits *girru* as a means of separating his campaigns.³⁸ The use of *girru* is revived under Assurbanipal, but the concept of *girru* becomes even more fluid. Campaigns which were labeled *girru* in one edition may be subsumed under another *girru* in a later edition, separated only with the words *ina tayyārtiya*, "on my return," or *ina mētiq girriya*, "in the course of my campaign."³⁹

In tracing the development of the annals the closely related "display texts" have been ignored thus far. These texts are often compared to, discussed, and confused with the annals and they need to be considered here.⁴⁰ The so-called "display" texts, like the annals, fall within the category of commemorative inscriptions. They are very similar in form to the annals: they use the same three-part format and similar language, even to a nearly identical account of a given campaign, hence the confusion. Despite the name, "display," these texts were not necessarily displayed, but could also be foundation inscriptions.

In general, most scholars⁴¹ deem any royal building inscription that contains a military narration arranged chronologically to be annals. And those that arrange their campaigns geographically are deemed "display" inscriptions. By this definition the royal inscriptions of the last two Assyrian kings, Esarhaddon and

Assurbanipal, would have to be eliminated from consideration as annals despite the detail and complexity of their campaign narratives and despite their clear evolution from the annals of their predecessors. While a chronological versus geographical distinction may suit a definition of the word annals, it is not clear that it suits the texts themselves or that the Assyrians made such a distinction.

These texts are classified somewhat differently here. The issue concerns three types of documents: (1) building inscriptions which contain detailed military narratives arranged chronologically; (2) building inscriptions which contain detailed military narratives arranged geographically; and (3) building inscriptions which contain military narratives arranged geographically and which are summaries of campaigns. Traditionally the latter two types of texts have been lumped together under the heading "display" texts because they both arrange their campaigns geographically. However, in view of the close relationship between the first two text types, for the purposes of this study, they are classed together under the heading "annals." These texts have existed side-by-side throughout the Assyrian period. Their format and language are identical but for the geographical arrangement of the one. The Assyrian kings often opted for a geographical arrangement in one edition of their inscription and a chronological arrangement in a second or third edition,⁴² their campaign accounts being otherwise identical. The third type of text is called "summary," to describe the style of their military accounts and the term "display" is not used as a description of any of these texts except in reference to their function, display vs. foundation inscription.⁴³

Thus, the definitions used throughout the following discussion are the following: Annals--texts of this genre belong to the general category of commemorative inscriptions, but contain detailed narratives of the military activities of the king. In the Middle Assyrian period and early Neo-Assyrian period the military narration could be arranged either chronologically, usually by year (dated by eponym, regnal year, or undated), or geographically. In the late Neo-Assyrian period the arrangement by year is abandoned for an arrangement by *girru*, "campaign." The military narratives were arranged at first chronologically then geographically. Summary inscriptions are building inscriptions which contain military narratives in which the campaigns are ordered geographically. The narratives are not detailed, but are summaries; they rarely separate the individual campaign narratives by eponym, regnal year, or campaign.

Assyrian Editing

Previous Research: The Early Studies

It has already been mentioned that the Assyrian kings often composed several editions of their annals.⁴⁴ This was evident to scholars from the earliest finds at Assyrian sites. The first publications of the annals, the Rawlinson volumes, already began the system of assigning letters to distinguish the various editions, a practice which is maintained today.⁴⁵ Although scholars recognized the usefulness of the parallel accounts from the various editions, particularly in filling in the missing portions of whatever edition they had deemed to be the "main" text, little effort was devoted to examining these editions as compositions in their own right or developing a method of comparing them. G. Smith, among the first to write a history of an Assyrian king from these texts,⁴⁶ contented himself with using the fullest available account, consulting other accounts only as they filled in gaps in the text or added new information, without regard to whether the text was an edition of the annals, a summary account, or another type of royal inscription.

The first attempts to sort out the massive amount of historical material published during the preceding century came with the work of A.T. Olmstead,⁴⁷ who challenged scholarship's general acceptance of the statements of these documents. Olmstead outlined in his introduction, and illustrated in the succeeding chapters, the beginnings of an Assyrian historiography:⁴⁸

As soon as the king had won his most important victory, the first edition of the annals was issued. With the next great victory, a new edition was made out. For the part covered by the earlier edition, an abbreviated form of this was incorporated. When the scribe reached the period not covered by the earlier document, he naturally wrote more fully, as it was more vividly in his mind and therefore seemed to him to have a greater importance...any one of these editions is of value only when it is the most nearly contemporaneous of all those preserved.

The principle outlined and demonstrated in Olmstead's chapters is commonly referred to as the model of the shortened text, that is, a text which has been edited/abbreviated from an original, longer text. Olmstead's study in chapter 7, "Ashur bani apal and Assyrian Editing," also established the relative order of the known editions of Assurbanipal's annals.⁴⁹

Despite the work of Olmstead in *Assyrian Historiography* and his other publications, scholars continued to devote their efforts to publishing new text editions of the annals rather than studies of them. Piepkorn, in full agreement with the opinions of his teacher, Olmstead, hoped to present a text edition of the annals of Assurbanipal in the correct chronological order. He intended these, however, only as a starting point for further studies.⁵⁰ In 1933, Piepkorn began to publish what he intended to be a two volume edition of Assurbanipal's annals.⁵¹ Unfortunately only the first volume ever appeared and we have only its introduction to tell us his intentions. Piepkorn's efforts to assign the fragments to their appropriate editions resulted in the publication of comprehensive text editions of the annals editions B and D. He also presented text editions of the very fragmentary annals editions E and K which are only now being improved.

Efforts to identify and assign fragments to the various editions of the annals, and to identify new editions of the annals continue to the present day. But in the last twenty years, many small studies concerning the annals of individual kings, individual episodes, or groups of episodes in the annals as well as the language of the annals and royal epithets have begun to appear. These have contributed greatly to an understanding of Assyrian editing. The following is a review of these studies under three headings: Manuscript Genealogy, Reinterpreting History, and Ideology and Literature. Much of the following discussion involves complicated arguments concerning the various editions of the annals of Assurbanipal. These editions are indicated by letters in bold-face type. Unfortunately, the letters were assigned in the order in which the editions were identified and the alphabetic order of the letters does not reflect the chronological order of the editions.

Manuscript Genealogy: Original Composition

Before considering the sources for the inherited text, the text which was rewritten from one edition to another, it is useful to review briefly the presumed sources for the composition of the original text. The sources for the original text, i.e., material that is newly included in an edition, is usually assumed to be the so-called war reports:⁵² accounts composed in the course of the campaign. No text of this type, in fact, has been identified, but their existence can be postulated on the basis of three pieces of evidence. First, the booty or tribute lists contained in the annals must have been recorded at

some time during or shortly after the conclusion of the campaign. Just such an activity is represented on the reliefs in the palaces of the Assyrian kings.⁵³ Scribes, usually two, are depicted, one with a scroll (parchment) and brush, a second with a writing board⁵⁴ and stylus. They record the booty, severed heads of the enemy, and captives. Examples of these booty lists exist among known Assyrian documents.⁵⁵

The second bit of evidence for these "reports" is the existence of itineraries,⁵⁶ reports of the king's journey giving the names of places, distances, and comments about the difficulties encountered. These itineraries may have been the source of the lists of cities which occur in the annals.

Finally, the occurrence of shifts in person of verbs from first to third person (*a/igterib*, "I/he approached"; *a/imbur*, "I/he received") in certain accounts, is thought to indicate that passages were copied verbatim from other records.⁵⁷ The fact that no text of this type has been identified as a "war report" may be due to the objects on which they were written. From the evidence of the reliefs it appears that the scribes were writing on parchment and writing boards, both of which are more perishable than clay tablets. In addition, the writing boards were probably erased and reused once their information had been transferred to clay tablets in the form of itineraries, administrative lists (booty or tribute lists), and royal inscriptions.

In addition to the postulated "war reports" other documents were also used in the compilation of the military narration of the annals

including, the royal correspondence⁵⁸ and in the Middle Assyrian period, the Middle Assyrian Chronicles.⁵⁹

Inherited Text

Olmstead's model for the shortened text was an important first step toward understanding the composition of the annals. We have come to realize in recent years that the process of rewriting the annals was a good deal more complex than simple abbreviation and slavish copying as Olmstead contended.⁶⁰ In reissuing the annals the historical-military⁶¹ account was often altered and new material was usually added. The alterations in the text could take many forms. The campaign accounts could be recopied verbatim, changed in content or organization, expanded, reduced, or omitted entirely from one edition to another. Similarly, the introduction and building inscription could be changed from one edition to another.

These revised or rewritten annals are referred to as editions, defined by Cogan as the "rewriting of the historical section of a text to accommodate data not previously recorded or newly selected for featuring."⁶² Identifying the sources of the different editions and the relative chronological order of the editions is referred to as "manuscript genealogy," "manuscript pedigree," or--most often by Assyriologists--as "compositional history." A number of studies have appeared which address this problem. Many of these focus on the annals of Assurbanipal, since, of all the Assyrian kings, his are the most numerous and are published in a usable form.

The surest method of determining the order of the various

editions is by the dates available on the annals manuscripts themselves. The annals always concluded with a date formula, usually in the Assyrian style by eponym year.⁶³ Unfortunately, the eponym lists for the period after 648 break off and there is no "canonical" eponym list with which to date eponyms occurring after the year 648.⁶⁴ Thus, even though there are dates preserved for many of Assurbanipal's editions, their correct order remains uncertain. Under these circumstances a combination of methods is used in determining the relative order of the editions.

Olmstead's principle which stated that the more detailed the narrative of a given campaign is, the closer the narrative is to being contemporaneous with that campaign, often holds true. It can be useful in determining the relative order of the different campaign accounts especially when we know the date of a campaign. For the Assurbanipal inscriptions this is possible when we have the date from outside sources such as the Babylonian Chronicles or the royal correspondence.⁶⁵

Comparisons of the entire military narration also aid in the ordering of editions; when a campaign appears in one edition but not another it may indicate that the latter edition is earlier than the former.

Once the relative order of the editions is determined the process by which the editions were edited can be considered. A simple example is illustrated by Levine's study of three recensions of Sennacherib's second campaign.⁶⁶ Levine noted an unusual addition to an otherwise identical account of Sennacherib's second campaign. Lines 1 72-73 in

the Rassam Cylinder,⁶⁷ composed after the third campaign, record the capture of the towns Bit-Kalamzah, Hardishpi, and Bit-Kubatti, anticipating the description of the capture of the latter two cities in lines ii 2-9. The corresponding lines of the earlier Bellino Cylinder⁶⁸ mention only Bit-Kalamzah. The accounts are otherwise identical. In the context of the Rassam Cylinder the addition of the two city names made little sense, particularly since neither Hardishpi nor Bit-Kubatti were in the same geographical region as Bit-Kalamzah. Levine then noted that a shorter, summary inscription from a bull⁶⁹ in Sennacherib's palace contained a description identical to the one in the Rassam Cylinder, including the two additional city names. In the context of this bull inscription, however, the inclusion of all three city names made perfect sense, since it replaced the individual descriptions of the capture of the cities. The identical wording of lines i 72-73 in Rassam and line 10 in the bull inscription led Levine to conclude that the scribe of the Rassam Cylinder had before him both the account of the Bellino Cylinder and that of the bull inscription. The scribe, not understanding the reason for including the capture of the two cities in the same line as the capture of Bit-Kalamzah in the bull inscription or fearful of omitting information, added them to the same lines in the Rassam Cylinder.⁷⁰ Thus, this is an example of a scribe making use not only of the immediately preceding annals edition in composing the new text but also consulting the text of a summary inscription.

In a larger study of the Egyptian campaigns of Assurbanipal, Spalinger⁷¹ examined a more complex series of narratives which appears

in all the editions of Assurbanipal's annals and discussed how each related to its predecessors. He demonstrated that the scribes not only made use of the immediately preceding edition but in fact used all the earlier editions, choosing to include material from earlier editions which had once been edited out as well as material from other related inscriptions.⁷²

A more complex situation involving the revival of an older tradition was investigated by Cogan and Tadmor in a study of the episode of Gyges of Lydia.⁷³ Cogan and Tadmor noted that Assurbanipal's edition A, composed in 643, did not merely repeat the story of Gyges as it was presented in the preceding four editions (B/D/C/F). They found that they had to consult the much earlier edition E and the annals tablets HT,⁷⁴ to understand the narrative in A. First, they defined the fragments identified as edition E as actually two sub-editions--E₁ and E₂. The two are differentiated on the basis of variant traditions recorded in the Gyges narrative.

Sub-edition E₁ preserves a tradition wherein a rider from Lydia (called *rakbu*) arrived in Assyria speaking an incomprehensible language requiring that the Assyrians locate an interpreter. E₂ also records the arrival of a messenger from Lydia (called *mār Šipri*) but makes no mention of his inability to communicate. E₂ also includes in its narrative that Gyges had received a dream directing him to ally with Assyria. The next edition to record this story, HT, which is copied in all the subsequent editions until A, combines the two earlier traditions of E₁ and E₂, retaining the dream message given in E₂ and the sending of a messenger but omitting the description of his

incomprehensible language and the search for the interpreter given in E₁. The messenger is called *rakbu* as in E₁. The compiler of A, however, seems to have by-passed the tradition represented by HT and gone back to the earlier E₁ and E₂ narratives to revive the episode of the arrival of the foreign tongued rider (*rakbu*) and the search for an interpreter; the compiler used *mar šipri*, "messenger," to refer to the interpreter.

To summarize, the scribes, in composing a new edition of the annals, did not merely take the immediately preceding edition and then copy or abbreviate the narrative they found there, but often consulted previous editions and other related royal inscriptions.

Reinterpreting History

The next step beyond the determination of what changes occurred in the narratives and when, is to consider why such changes took place. The following discussion will show that the changes were often deliberate and that the reasons for the changes, when we can understand them, could be as complex as the editing process itself and involved a great deal more than abbreviating the old campaign(s) and focusing on the new.

The title of this section does not refer to the rewriting of history, the deliberate alteration of facts or events. Rather it refers to the editing, by the Assyrian scribe, of the account of a campaign to reflect new information, a new understanding of an earlier event, or altered political situations.

One of the studies discussed under the previous heading⁷⁵

demonstrates how changes in the narrative from one edition to another can reflect a new political situation. Spalinger, discussing the various recensions of the Egyptian campaigns⁷⁶ noted that the earlier recensions of the first Egyptian campaign name three Egyptian kings--Pakruru of Pishapti, Sharru-lu-dari of Si'nu, and Necho of Sais--as conspiring against Assyria, but in these same recensions only two of these kings, Sharru-lu-dari and Necho, are mentioned as having been arrested at the close of the campaign. Demonstrating that the missing third king, Pakruru, is known to have continued on his throne in Egypt, Spalinger assumed that he must have escaped capture in some way.

Edition B, composed some years after the close of the Egyptian campaigns,⁷⁷ in relating this same event names only one king, Sharru-lu-dari, as being arrested at the close of the campaign,⁷⁸ omitting Pakruru as before and Necho, king of Sais. By the time B was composed, Assyria had allied with Sais and Spalinger suggested that the Assyrian scribe omitted Necho's capture from the account because he did not "want to record the rebel whom Assurbanipal did not punish but rather joined forces with as an ally."⁷⁹ While this suggestion is certainly a possibility, it should also be considered that edition B abbreviated the entire campaign against Egypt. The scribe in composing an abbreviated account would have been faced with the choice of including Necho in the list of captured kings or omitting his name entirely. But once Necho was mentioned as being captured the scribe would have had to explain why Necho returned to his throne which would have made for a rather lengthy account. The scribe may have found it simpler to omit the name and the entire episode of the rebellion of Assyria's new ally.

In a discussion of Sennacherib's first campaign, Liverani⁸⁰ demonstrates that the rewriting of that campaign reflected an altered political situation and also that the Assyrians had new information about the events of the end of that campaign. Liverani focuses on several aspects of the campaign. Only two are dealt with here:⁸¹ the flight of the rebel, Merodach-baladan, and the enthronement of Bel-ibni over all of Sumer and Akkad at the end of the campaign. Liverani observes that the earliest account⁸² states that before actually engaging Assyrian troops, Merodach-baladan fled to Guzumani, located in the mountains to the east. Sennacherib, in pursuit, had his troops search the mountains for five days but Merodach-baladan could not be found. The narrative then recounts the enthronement of Bel-ibni, described as a "scion of Babylon who had grown up in my palace like a young dog."⁸³ Observing that the motif of the fruitless search usually means that the person has been effectively eliminated,⁸⁴ Liverani points out that the next recension alters the narrative of the flight of and search for Merodach-baladan. Merodach-baladan is said to have deserted in the thick of battle⁸⁵ and fled to Guzumani. This is followed by the statement "and so he saved his life."⁸⁶ The first change would seem to imply that the Assyrians were trying to discredit Merodach-baladan. The second suggests that perhaps Merodach-baladan was not quite "out of the picture" as they had first thought and that the Assyrians were aware of it.

The very next account, composed after the third campaign, indicates that this was the case. All traces of the references to the flight to Guzumani and the fruitless search are omitted;⁸⁷ only the

lines recording Merodach-baladan's abandoning the fight and saving his life are preserved. The Assyrians were certainly aware that Merodach-baladan was still alive and in fact had returned since Merodach-baladan appears in the very next campaign also narrated in the same edition. This new information and situation is also reflected in the lines recording the enthronement of Bel-ibni, in which Bel-ibni is no longer called king of Sumer and Akkad, but only of Akkad.⁸⁸ Apparently Bel-ibni had lost control of the south to Merodach-baladan, who returned from his refuge in Guzmani to his tribal power-base in the south.

Thus, changes in three successive narratives of a single campaign are not merely abbreviations as had been thought, but actually reflect new information available to the Assyrians concerning that campaign (Merodach-baladan had not been eliminated) and new political developments (control of the south had been lost).

Ideology and Literature

It was mentioned earlier that the reason for reissuing the annals was to relate the newest military or building accomplishment of the king. The political/military content of the annals is obvious and so too is its ideological/propagandistic overlay. The presentation of the image of the king, his virtues and deeds, and the image of Assyria itself is developed in the long list of titles and epithets that introduce the annals; in the choice of campaigns narrated (only victories); in the content of the campaign accounts; and in the formal aspects of the composition of the entire text. The following remarks address the ideology of kingship and of Assyrian military and political

domination expressed in the annals of the Assyrian kings.

The ideology of the Assyrian empire, as remarked by many scholars, is basically dualistic. Assyria and Assyrian life and beliefs are good and are to be contrasted with the life and beliefs of the outside, non-Assyrian world; Assyria is dominant because its god is dominant.⁸⁹ This conception of the world is expressed in a variety of ways by the formal titles taken by the king, by expressions of legitimacy, and by the use of heroic-literary motifs in the construction or content of the text.⁹⁰ The formal aspects of Assyrian literary constructions and the need to satisfy certain ideological precepts can obscure the events the annals appear to relate; however, they can be equally valid and informative for understanding Assyrian perceptions of themselves and their world.⁹¹

It is, therefore, essential to consider the influence of Assyrian ideology in the altering of a text. Several scholars have, in recent years, taken up this very issue: first, Tadmor on the significance of changes in the genealogy of the kings as stated in the introduction to the annals; second, Liverani on the significance and meaning of one of the royal titles; third, Tadmor and Cogan on the use of an ideological and literary motif in the construction of an individual campaign account; and finally, Tadmor and Cogan on how an ideological motif can be used in the construction or alteration of an entire edition.

The ideological import of certain titles and the genealogy of the king given in the introduction to the annals has often gone unnoticed. Indeed, the entire introduction to the royal inscriptions has often been passed over in silence by scholars. Although Seux collected the

titles and epithets of the kings there are no major studies of Assyrian royal titles and epithets either in general or of those used by individual kings.⁹² Scholarly comment has traditionally been confined to new or unusual epithets and titles. Tadmor in a recent article⁹³ considers the occurrence of an unusual formulation of a traditional legitimacy formula in the introduction to the annals of three kings. Tadmor first notes that the traditional formula of legitimacy contains two components: a three generation genealogy (x son of y grandson/descendent of z) and an epithet referring to divine election. Since the myth of a direct line of succession from the earliest kings was maintained in Assyria,⁹⁴ the omission of this formula is usually taken to be a sign of a break in the dynasty. However, in the annals of three Assyrian kings the genealogical portion of the formula is altered and a dynastic title (*pir'i Balti^{l_{ki}}*, "scion of Balti"; *zēr Balti^{l_{ki}}*, "seed of Balti")⁹⁵ is used in place of the direct parental connection. Two of these three kings, Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon II, are known to have usurped the throne, though they were probably members of the royal family. Unable to make a direct link with their predecessors, they substituted a dynastic formula. The third instance of this dynastic formula, in Sennacherib's titulary, is more difficult to understand. Sennacherib was, as far as we know, the legitimate heir to his father, Sargon II, and would have been able to claim direct descent.⁹⁶

In another examination of titles, specifically the titulary of Sennacherib,⁹⁷ Liverani found that the king did not routinely take up the titles of his predecessor at his accession, but that some of these

titles had to be "earned." In the case of the title *Šar kibrāt erbetti*, "king of the four corners," Liverani found that it was not assumed until Sennacherib had, in fact, campaigned in four directions, that is, after his third campaign when he had campaigned against, Merodach-baladan in the south, the Kassites in the east, Ellipi in the northeast, and the Judeans in the west.

Tadmor and Liverani both clearly demonstrate that a close examination of seemingly formulaic titles can be very revealing of the special circumstances surrounding a king's accession and activities. The king's titles were not used indiscriminately.

Aspects of the ideological significance of heroic-literary motifs have been explored by Cogan and Tadmor. After discussing the manuscript genealogy of the Gyges episode, Cogan and Tadmor⁹⁸ attempted to determine the reason for choosing to alter the narrative of the inherited text from the "standard" version repeated in editions B, D, C, and F.⁹⁹

Examining other sources for the history of the relationship between Gyges and Assurbanipal they observed that Lydia had rebelled against Assyria sometime before A was composed,¹⁰⁰ perhaps in the mid-650's, a fact left unmentioned by the previous editions, presumably because Assyria did not retaliate.¹⁰¹ Since Assyrian ideology would never allow the recording of a rebellion that went unpunished, Cogan and Tadmor maintain that it was the new information, provided by A, that Gyges had recently been killed by the Cimmerians and that his son had resubmitted to Assyria¹⁰² that allowed the editor of edition A to recast the account of the episode.¹⁰³ They further note that the facts

of the incident fit nicely a standard Assyrian ideological motif: "political disaffection leads to punishment at the hands of the gods...re-submission to Assyria restores good fortune and success."¹⁰⁴

Here an event was reconsidered and the account rewritten because the situation had changed, not just from the one recorded in the earlier account but from an "officially ignored" intermediate stage. The new narrative was shaped to make an ideologically significant point--to provide the "moral of the story"--so to speak.

Just as ideological principles can influence individual elements or episodes of a section of an annals edition, so too can they form a framework for an entire edition.

Cogan, in a study of the "Babylon Inscription" of Esarhaddon,¹⁰⁵ considers the ideological implications of the variants between that edition and six other editions. The "Babylon Inscription", edition E, represents one of three recensions of a text which describes the rebuilding of Babylon by Esarhaddon. Borger's text edition of these inscriptions divides the events recounted in the narrative into 41 episodes.¹⁰⁶ Cogan first shows that edition E omits all references to divination present in the other two recensions (episodes 2, 12, and 17). These episodes were not just omitted, they were replaced with non-divinatory episodes (episodes 5 and 11). Cogan also notes that E omits episodes which describe the restoration of Babylon's traditional rights and privileges (episodes 18, 19a-b, and 37a-b). Edition E is the only recension of this text to omit the episodes dealing with divination and the restoration of Babylon's rights and privileges. In considering why E's authors chose to omit these episodes Cogan observes

that the restoration of Babylon's privileged status was a common tactic in the struggle to control Babylon and that the deliberate omission of this act would seem to imply an anti-Babylonian attitude on the part of E's authors.¹⁰⁷ Cogan also maintains in connection with this that divination, particularly astrological divination, was a Babylonian science and suggests that the divinatory episodes of the Babylon Inscription were omitted in conjunction with the anti-Babylonian stance taken by its authors. In conclusion, Cogan states: "This study of recension E of the Babylon Inscription has suggested that the variations in the E text were not random. The shortenings and/or lengthenings, and the phraseological substitutions were found to be expressions of a distinct ideological point of view in the debate over Babylon at Esarhaddon's court."¹⁰⁸

A study by Tadmor takes a look at the relationship between the three main sections of two editions of Assurbanipal's annals, editions F and A. It is an important study, not only for its specific points about the introductions of editions F and A but also for its consideration of the annals as a single integrated composition in which the three sections are not treated in isolation, as has been common scholarly practice. Tadmor demonstrates that each of these sections was written to be part of a single composition whose elements were chosen for a particular ideological purpose.

Tadmor begins with a consideration of autobiographical apologies in Assyrian royal inscriptions. He examines three such apologies, each of which forms the introduction to a king's annals.¹⁰⁹ He first observes that in Assyria apologies are not composed at the beginning

of the king's reign, but rather appear in texts from later in the reign. In an examination of Esarhaddon's apology, Tadmor observes that an edition of Esarhaddon's annals (Nin. A) for which the apology was written was itself composed just prior to the so-called "vassal treaties."¹¹⁰ These "vassal treaties," found at the site of Nimrud, record a ceremony in which the vassals of the Assyrian empire pledged to protect and defend the heir to the throne of Assyria, Assurbanipal. Thus, an heir was designated shortly after Esarhaddon composed his apology. Tadmor, believing this not to be mere coincidence, suggests that the recording of the story of Esarhaddon's succession, the proving or establishment of his legitimacy, became necessary because it was the time when the successor was chosen, always a critical period in the reign of a king. Tadmor then considers the motif of oaths which appears in the campaign account. He points out that one particular campaign concerning Nabu-zer-kitti-lishir¹¹¹ was specifically rewritten to reflect the importance of the oath and the consequences of breaking it.

Looking then to Assurbanipal's apology, which appears first on a stele inscription¹¹² and then as the introduction to editions F and A, Tadmor demonstrates that Assurbanipal probably composed his apology for the same reason as Esarhaddon. Although we know very little about the provisions Assurbanipal made for the succession, certain elements in the apology clearly indicate that arrangements for the succession were at least being considered. First, the text calls Assurbanipal *mār sarri rabū ša bit-redūti* "eldest son of the Bit-reduti," the house of succession,¹¹³ where the crown prince was educated. Surely not

coincidentally, the building inscriptions of both F and A are devoted to the rebuilding of the Bit-reduti. Within the building account (of A) the succession motif is repeated.¹¹⁴ Thus, the motif of succession unites the entire composition.

Tadmor also discusses a second motif, "old prophecy," that is also associated with the overall motif of legitimacy. This motif is repeated in each of the three sections of the inscription. It appears in the introduction--Assurbanipal was destined for kingship "from days of yore" (F i 3-4)--and in one of the Elamite campaign accounts (F v 73-vi 11), stating that the goddess, Nanaya, who had been absent from her city, Uruk, for 1,635 years, ordained "from days of yore" that Assurbanipal should return her to Uruk.¹¹⁵

Tadmor's discussion demonstrates that the three sections of the annals, all too often considered separately,¹¹⁶ could be constructed with a specific overarching political or theological theme in mind and that by the repetition of carefully chosen phrases and motifs the three sections are integrated to become a single composition the full significance of which cannot be understood without examining the document in its entirety.

The preceding discussion should have illustrated some of the issues involved in interpreting the royal inscriptions and particularly the annals.¹¹⁷ The studies were separated into three categories in order to illustrate three levels of interpretation observed in approaching these texts. The initial stage, Manuscript Genealogy, determines the "data-base"; it involves the identification of the various editions of the annals and related compositions, their dates

and relative order. The content of each edition is examined both in terms of its own structure and in comparison to the editions which precede and succeed it with respect to determining what changes have occurred in the editions and when they occurred.

The second and third levels represent interpretive levels, and seek to understand the motives behind the changes from one edition to another. It is important to keep in mind that each edition is a finished composition, complete and coherent in itself; it is not a draft of a text on its way to becoming a finished work. The second level of interpretation, called here, Reinterpreting History, examines changes in the text in terms of the events themselves, new developments in the political situation, and new information available to the Assyrians which led the Assyrians to understand an earlier event somewhat differently.

The third level, Ideology and Literature, considers the way in which the Assyrian world view and Assyrian literary forms affect the selection and presentation of events in the annals.

These are the approaches and techniques that will be used in examining the Elamite campaigns in Assurbanipal's annals.

The Editions of the Annals of Assurbanipal

The following pages introduce the various editions of Assurbanipal's annals and his important summary inscriptions. Scholars generally recognize seven editions of the annals: E, B, D, K, C, F, and A. There are three summary inscriptions: T, IT, H, and the annals tablets HT. The various inscriptions are presented in chronological order in the following pages.

The descriptions of the editions are divided into three sections: History of the Edition Research; the Content of the Editions; and the Date of the Edition.

"History of Edition Research" presents the history of the edition's identification and includes the important publication information.

"Content of the Edition" describes the content of each of the three parts of the typical annals inscription: Introduction; Military narration; and Building inscription. Special note is made of those features which distinguish the edition from other editions.

"Date of the Edition" presents the evidence or arguments for the date of the edition or its relative chronological order vis-à-vis the other editions.

Most editions of Assurbanipal's annals divide the military narration into numbered *girru*, literally "campaign." However, since the definition of *girru* is one that will be discussed at length elsewhere in this study the numbered *girru* sections are referred to as *n girru* rather than "campaigns." The term campaign will be used to

refer to military campaigns: the sending of an army, a battle (seige or chase), and the return of the army. A campaign may constitute a *girru*, be recounted as part of a *girru* or may not be included under a *girru* heading at all. Events which are non-military in nature are referred to as episodes. They are usually contained within *girru* narratives.

All of Assurbanipal's annals found at Assyrian sites were inscribed on prisms. The terms prism and cylinder¹¹⁸ have been used to describe the same type of object in the past and there are several instances of well-known inscriptions that are called cylinders that are, in fact, more accurately prisms, for example, the Rassam Cylinder representing edition A. The reader should not, therefore, be unduly confused, if in the ensuing discussion a specific object is called a cylinder and subsequently described as a prism.

Edition E*History of Edition E Research*

Edition E was first represented by two fragments of two different prisms. They were identified as belonging to a separate edition of the annals in 1871, by G. Smith in his *History of Assurbanipal*,¹¹⁹ but only portions of these prism fragments were published by Smith. The fragments were re-edited by Streck,¹²⁰ in 1916, in his three volume edition of Assurbanipal's inscriptions. They were then recopied by Bauer in his edition of Assurbanipal's inscriptions in 1933.¹²¹ Also in 1933, Piepkorn published an edition of E in which he included two additional prism fragments from the collection at the University of Chicago.¹²² Although represented by several prism fragments, only a small portion of the text of E was represented on them. E remained in this very incomplete state until Millard, in 1968, combined the known fragments with additional prism fragments, published by Thompson, and with others found in the collections of the British Museum to create a fairly complete composite text.¹²³

The most recent contribution to the publication of the text edition of E is Cogan and Tadmor's study of the Lydian (Gyges) episode in Assurbanipal's annals.¹²⁴ Cogan and Tadmor determined that edition E was, in fact, two sub-editions.¹²⁵ They based this conclusion on significant variants in the Gyges episode. The E₁ sub-edition is distinguished by a section of the Gyges episode that relates the story of the appearance in Assyria of a rider from Lydia whose language was

incomprehensible and the ensuing search for an interpreter. Sub-edition E_2 relates the episode of the messenger from Lydia but does not mention that he was unable to communicate and required an interpreter. E_2 , however, includes the story of a dream which came to Gyges prompting him to submit (the reason for sending the messenger) to the Assyrian king.

Content of Edition E

Both sub-editions¹²⁶ of E begin with an introduction, giving the king's name, titles, and epithets. The military narration begins with the Egyptian campaigns, the first Egyptian campaign and part of the second Egyptian campaign,¹²⁷ and is followed by the campaign against Kirbit in the East. The military narration ends with the account of the Gyges of Lydia episode. The building inscription is very fragmentary, but may commemorate the (re)building of a wall.¹²⁸

Unlike Assurbanipal's later annals editions, the sub-editions E_1 and E_2 do not arrange the campaigns by *girru*.¹²⁹ Similarly, while later editions arrange the campaigns geographically, sub-editions E_1 and E_2 do not seem to do so,¹³⁰ nor are the campaigns arranged chronologically.¹³¹

Date of Edition E

The extant fragments of E do not preserve a colophon containing a date for the edition. The date of E was discussed by Cogan and Tadmor¹³² who argue that the latest event described in the edition is the reinstallation of Necho as ruler in Egypt sometime before the sack

of Thebes which took place in 664/3. Therefore, a *terminus ante quem* of 664 for edition E is provided which allows for the campaign against Kirbit (dated 668) and the first campaign against Egypt. Cogan and Tadmor suggest 665/4 for the date of the edition.

HT--The Annals Tablets*HT Research, Content, and Date*

The Harran Tablets (HT), the so-called annals tablets, were first published by Streck in 1916.¹³³ The tablets are in fact two copies of the same inscription. Piepkorn considered the tablets to be archival copies of an original inscription which was, or was intended to be, deposited in the foundations of Ehulhul, the temple of the god, Sin, in Harran.¹³⁴

The text exhibits several unusual features; the introduction is limited to 1 and 1/2 lines at the beginning of the inscription and omits entirely any mention of the king's name and epithets.¹³⁵ The majority of the inscription is taken up by the military narration, including the campaigns against Egypt and Kirbit, and the episodes of Lydia, Tabal, and Arwad. Like edition E, HT does not number the campaigns nor does it arrange the campaigns chronologically or geographically. The building inscription commemorates the rebuilding of Ehulhul, the temple of Sin in Harran.

The only date that appears on the inscription is the statement that Assurbanipal completed the rebuilding of the Ehulhul in his *rēš ūrūti*, his accession year (669). If these tablets are copies of foundation inscriptions to be deposited in the foundations of the temple, they must have been composed at an early stage of the construction. The tablets could not have been written until all the campaigns and episodes narrated were completed, at about 664.¹³⁶ Although the construction of the temple (and perhaps the temple

complex) may have begun in Assurbanipal's accession year, it could not have been completed, or this inscription composed, until about 664.

Edition B

History of Edition B Research

Edition B was first identified as an eight-sided prism found in 1854.¹³⁷ The prism was partially copied and published by G. Smith in *SR* in 1870,¹³⁸ a complete copy of this prism along with additional prism fragments identified as belonging to other B manuscripts were published by Winckler in *SKT 3*.¹³⁹ The first critical edition of the prism was published by Streck in 1916.¹⁴⁰ Piepkorn re-edited B in 1933, contributing some eighty prism fragments from the University of Chicago's collection along with six in his own possession and additional prism fragments found in the British Museum.¹⁴¹ Piepkorn published a composite text and a translation, but he included no copies. In the same year, Bauer published his collection of Assurbanipal fragments.¹⁴² Additional fragments have since been identified and published,¹⁴³ but Piepkorn's edition remains the *editio princeps* of edition B.

In his publication, Piepkorn outlined four sub-editions to edition B, based on orthographic and single-line variants;¹⁴⁴ two of these sub-editions have since been shown to be edition C.¹⁴⁵ Since the military narration of B formed the basis of several succeeding editions, large portions of later editions of the annals are identical with B, and it has proven very difficult to assign prism fragments with certainty to editions B, D, K, C, or F.

Content of Edition B

Edition B is the first edition of Assurbanipal's annals to include the full geographical range of his campaigns and to arrange the campaigns in a geographical order, starting with the west, then north, east, and south.¹⁴⁶ It is also the first of the editions to number and arrange the campaigns using the term *girru*.

Edition B is characterized by an introduction which includes Assurbanipal's name, titulary, genealogy, and a long description of the wealth and prosperity of the kingdom under Assurbanipal.¹⁴⁷ The military narration includes eight *girru*: *girru* I-II concerning events in Egypt, III along the Syrian coast and Anatolia, IV in Kirbit, V in Mannaya and Media, VI-VII in Elam, and VIII in Gambulu, Elam, and concerning the Arabs. The building inscription commemorates the building of the *Ekal masharti*, the arsenal of Nineveh.

The Date of Edition B

The date of Edition B is preserved on three of its exemplars as the eponym year of Ahilayya, the last name in the eponym canon, the year 649.¹⁴⁸ Three additional prism fragments assigned to edition B by Piepkorn date the edition to the eponym year Bel-shunu, usually accepted as following the eponym year of Ahilayya, hence the year 648.¹⁴⁹ Piepkorn assumed that the reason two different dates appeared on the edition was that B continued to be copied in 648. However, the discovery of a fragment of edition D which carried the date 22 Simanu (III) 648 prompted Cogan¹⁵⁰ to re-examine the fragments of B which carry dates in 648. While those fragments, unfortunately, broke off at

just those points which would have distinguished B from D, Cogan prefers to date B exclusively to 649 and assigns those fragments bearing dates in 648 to edition D.¹⁵¹

Edition D*History of Edition D Research*

Edition D was first identified and partially published by G. Smith in *SR* in 1870.¹⁵² Streck presented a partial text edition in 1916.¹⁵³ Bauer copied and edited the entire text in his volume of Assurbanipal's inscriptions.¹⁵⁴ Piepkorn also prepared an edition of D, using additional fragments from the University of Chicago's collection, the Iraq Museum, and the British Museum,¹⁵⁵ but he concluded that the major portion of D, the introduction and military narration, was identical to B and he listed only line correspondences to his text edition of B. The only feature of D that distinguishes it from edition B is its building inscription, commemorating the building of the inner city-wall of Nineveh.

The close correspondence between B and D has made it extremely difficult to assign prism fragments to one edition or the other.

Millard,¹⁵⁶ publishing additional fragments of D, tried to distinguish D from B on the basis of the curse section. Cogan,¹⁵⁷ pointing out that Piepkorn had already noted that the curse section within each edition was highly variable, rejected this idea; like Piepkorn he believed that the only way to distinguish between the two editions was on the basis of their building inscriptions.

Content of Edition D

As noted above, the introduction and military narration of edition D is, but for some orthographic variants, identical to edition

B. Only the building inscription, which commemorates the building of the *dur qabal ăli* of Nineveh, "the inner city wall of Nineveh," distinguishes D.

Date of Edition D

Only one fragment assigned to edition D is dated.¹⁵⁸ The date, 22 Simanu (III), eponym of Bel-shunu (648),¹⁵⁹ upholds Piepkorn's opinion that edition D "cannot have been written very much before or after B."¹⁶⁰

Edition K

History of Edition K Research

Edition K is perhaps the least well known of all of the editions of Assurbanipal's annals. Its principle exemplar, K.1703, was published by Winckler in 1895 as a B fragment.¹⁶¹ K.1703, a fragment of four sides of a ten-sided prism, was first recognized as a separate edition by Bauer in 1933,¹⁶² though its deviations from B had been noted much earlier.¹⁶³ Piepkorn¹⁶⁴ edited the text, noting that columns i and ii follow B with only minor variants, but columns iii and iv vary significantly and contain two of the features which distinguish K as a separate edition: the embassy from Rusa of Urartu in column iii and the description of the siege of Babylon in column iv.

K.1703 was the only representative of K until a recent article by Cogan and Tadmor identified three new pieces, two of which remain, unfortunately, unpublished.¹⁶⁵ Cogan and Tadmor pointed out two additional distinguishing features of edition K: the Bit-Imbi campaign is "out of order," that is, it is listed after the Arab campaigns instead of with the other Elamite campaigns. And the Bit-Imbi campaign is given a separate *girru* number (11).¹⁶⁶

Content of Edition K

Despite the initial confusion with edition B, K in fact, differs considerably from its predecessors B and D. The introduction¹⁶⁷ to K is unusually long and focuses on the king as builder, listing building notices and summaries of building projects in Babylonia and Assyria.

This placement of the theme, the king as builder, before the military narration is very unusual. Cogan and Tadmor believe that this introduction was originally composed for another document belonging to the "summary" class of texts.¹⁶⁸ The introduction also includes a shortened version (4 lines of the original 22 lines) of the motif of abundance found in editions B and D.¹⁶⁹

Our knowledge of the military narration of edition K is still largely fragmentary but includes *girru* concerning Egypt, Urtak of Elam, Te-Umman of Elam, Gambulu, the Urartu embassy, the Shamash-shum-ukin rebellion (Babylon campaign), Indabibi of Elam, the Arabs, and Bit-Imbi.¹⁷⁰ Edition K retains, in general, the order of the campaigns set by editions B and D as well as the practice of numbering by *girru*. The only *girru* number preserved in K is *girru* 11 for the Bit-Imbi campaign, the highest *girru* number preserved in the annals (edition A lists only nine *girru*). Three other points should be noted: K is the first edition to report the campaign against Babylon (not C as was previously thought); the Bit-Imbi campaign is listed after the campaign against the Arabs; and the Babylon campaign is listed with the Elamite campaigns.¹⁷¹

The building inscription of K is too fragmentary for analysis, but seems to commemorate the building of a wall.¹⁷²

Date of Edition K

There are no dated fragments of K. The chronological placement of K was established by Piepkorn¹⁷³ who argued that the mention of the Rusa embassy and of the campaign against Shamash-shum-ukin indicated a

date for K after editions B and D. He further argued that K had to precede C on the basis of C's introduction; Piepkorn, at that time was unaware that the introduction to C was identical to that of K.¹⁷⁴

Cogan and Tadmor, in agreement with Piepkorn, but armed with additional information, argued that K must precede C because of the position of the Bit-Imbi campaign in the two editions: while edition K placed the campaign "out of order," edition C realigned the campaign, correctly, with the other Elamite campaigns. Thus K must be later than edition D and earlier than edition C. Tadmor provided a rough date for K by arguing that the Babylon campaign did not end until sometime after Tammuz (IV) of 648, and possibly not until very early in 647. There were two additional campaigns recorded in K which took place after the Babylon campaign concluded (Bit-Imbi and the Arabs). Therefore K should be dated approximately one year later than edition D, dated to 648, and thus a date of 647 for edition K seems appropriate.¹⁷⁵

Edition C

History of Edition C Research

Edition C was first identified and partially published by G. Smith in *3R* in 1870;¹⁷⁶ the edition was represented by a broken ten-sided prism. This prism, along with other prism fragments identified later, was edited by Streck¹⁷⁷ and again, with copies, by Bauer.¹⁷⁸

In the same year as Bauer's publication, Piepkorn published what he intended as the first of a two-volume edition of the annals of Assurbanipal¹⁷⁹ which he planned to present in chronological order. Volume I included editions E, B, D, and K. Volume II which never appeared was to include editions C, F, and A. Piepkorn, however, had found valuable additions to edition C in the collection of the University of Chicago and in his private collection. He recorded some of edition C's variants from B in the notes to his text edition of B.¹⁸⁰ Many new fragments of C have since been published from the excavations at Nimrud and Nineveh by Knudsen,¹⁸¹ Wiseman,¹⁸² and Millard.¹⁸³

A text edition of edition C was prepared by Freedman as part of a doctoral dissertation at Columbia University,¹⁸⁴ but though Freedman used Piepkorn's private collection and manuscripts,¹⁸⁵ he did not, unfortunately, have the publication rights to the fragments in the University of Chicago collection.¹⁸⁶

Content of Edition C

The introduction to edition C follows that of edition K with only

minor variants.¹⁸⁷ The military narration includes *girru* I and II to Egypt, [III]¹⁸⁸ against the Syrian coast and Anatolia, IV against Kirbit, [V] against Mannaya and Media, and VI and VII against Elam. *Girru* VIII includes the campaigns against Gambulu, Babylon, and Elam, and [IX] against Bit-Imbi, Elam, and the Arabs.

As noted previously, C brings the Bit-Imbi *girru* into line with the other Elamite *girru*.¹⁸⁹ It also omits the notice of the Rusa embassy which appeared at the end of the Gambulu *girru* in K.¹⁹⁰

C's building inscription commemorates the building of the Nabu Temple in Kalhu (Nimrud).¹⁹¹

Date of Edition C

Edition C is dated to the eponym of [Nabu]-nadin-ahe. The name does not appear in the eponym canon which breaks off after 649. It was shown in the discussion of edition K that edition C must have been composed after edition K. The next edition, F, is dated by eponym to 646 at the earliest and 645 at the latest.¹⁹² Tadmor and Cogan¹⁹³ argue that there is at least one year between editions K and C and thus a date of 647 for K, 646 for C, and 645 for F. However, I believe F should be dated to 646 (see below pp. 68-69) and thus must date edition C to 647. That is, C was composed later than K, but in the same year as K.

Edition F*History of Edition F Research*

The earliest fragments of edition F were published by Scheil in photograph in 1914,¹⁹⁴ but were not identified as a separate edition of the annals until Streck's edition of the Assurbanipal inscriptions two years later.¹⁹⁵ Streck's identification was based on significant variants in the introduction¹⁹⁶ and differences in the numbering of the *girru*.¹⁹⁷ Bauer's publication of additional Assurbanipal inscriptions, while acknowledging Streck's designation of the Scheil fragments as "edition F," failed to recognize another prism, (BM) 1913-4-16, 147+ and seven other fragments as belonging to this edition. He gave this new prism a separate designation A^A--believing that A^A was a provincial, abridged edition of edition A.¹⁹⁸ In 1941, Weidner published five fragments of prisms excavated at Assur which he assigned to Bauer's edition A^A. He considered A^A to be the work of scribes from Assur.¹⁹⁹ In addition, Weidner discussed the dates present on the A^A fragments, and he established that A^A preceded edition A, being some 8-10 years earlier by his calculations.²⁰⁰ When Piepkorn published the first of his two proposed volumes of the annals of Assurbanipal, in 1933, Piepkorn had already completed a text edition of F. The introduction to the first volume as well as the footnotes²⁰¹ indicate that Piepkorn had not only identified many more fragments of edition F manuscripts, especially from the collection at the University of Chicago, but also that he had separated out four sub-editions²⁰² of that edition. Although Piepkorn apparently recognized that editions F

and A^A were, in fact, the same²⁰³ no complete text edition, uniting editions F and A^A, was published until Aynard's publication of a prism from the Louvre²⁰⁴ in 1957. Although Aynard had limited access²⁰⁵ to the tablets from the collection at the University of Chicago, and none to Piepkorn's private collection,²⁰⁶ her publication stands as the *editio princeps* of edition F.

Since Aynard's publication appeared, reviews of Aynard's edition²⁰⁷ have offered corrections to the text. Additional fragments have been identified by Lambert and Millard.²⁰⁸ A dissertation by Freedman²⁰⁹ published the Piepkorn fragments.²¹⁰ Unfortunately the very important Chicago material remains unpublished.²¹¹

Recent substantial contributions to our understanding of the Assurbanipal annals editions in general and edition F in particular have been made by Cogan in two recent articles.²¹² Cogan has now reviewed all the known prism fragments belonging to manuscripts of edition F. He has divided them into sub-editions (F₂₋₇)²¹³ in addition to a base edition F.

Content of Edition F

Edition F is the most unusual of the Assurbanipal editions: it appears to be the shortest of all the editions,²¹⁴ and it is the first to begin omitting entire *girru* narratives and episodes from the annals (Egypt 1, Kirbit, Elam 1, Babylon, Arabs). The main focus of the military section appears to be the Elamite wars yet it omits one of the Elamite *girru*. F is also represented by an unusually large number of manuscripts²¹⁵ that contain significant variations in their narratives

such that Cogan identifies them as sub-editions.²¹⁶

Edition F begins with an entirely new introduction that is almost exclusively concerned with the king's legitimacy.²¹⁷ The first 24 lines of the 34 line introduction describes the king's ascent to and qualifications for the throne of Assyria. This "apology" is followed by a list of his various epithets and concludes with two more comments concerning his legitimacy.²¹⁸

The military narration begins with the second of Assurbanipal's two Egyptian *girru*. It follows with the *girru* concerning the west coast of Syria and Anatolia, Mannaya, and concludes with the Elamite *girru*.

Edition F is the first edition to omit entire *girru*, and it also omits the largest number of *girru* and episodes of any of Assurbanipal's annals editions. F omits the first of the two Egyptian *girru*, the first of the Elamite *girru*, and the Kirbit *girru*. F also omits the account of the Shamash-shum-ukin rebellion, the Arabs *girru*, and the Median episode.

Edition F concludes with a building inscription that commemorates the rebuilding of the Bit-reduti, the house of succession, at Nineveh.

Date of Edition F

Several prism fragments identified as manuscripts of edition F preserve dates in different months of the eponym year of Nabu-shar-ahhesu.²¹⁹ The name Nabu-shar-ahhesu does not occur in the canonical eponym lists, as preserved, but it is possible to assign him to the year 646 based on two pieces of evidence. First, an economic text²²⁰

concludes with the statement: "entries from the eponym year of Sugabbu to the eponym year of Nabu-shar-ahheshu, of six years." Sugabbu is assigned by the canonical eponym list to the year 651. Counting six years from 651 we arrive at the year 646, counting inclusively, or 645, counting exclusively.

To choose between the years 646 and 645 we can argue the following: there were two campaigns against Elam after the Babylon rebellion. Since this rebellion concluded sometime between 30/V/648 and the beginning of 647,²²¹ and the first Elamite campaign began in the third month, then the earliest possible date for the first campaign is III/647. Similarly, the second Elamite campaign ended in the ninth month, thus in IX/647 at the earliest. The second campaign was first recorded in edition F, and the earliest date known for the composition of edition F is II/eponym year of Nabu-shar-ahheshu. If the eponym of Nabu-shar-ahheshu is assigned to 646, then the dates for the two campaigns are confined to the year 647: thus, the first began in III/647 and the second ended in IX/647. If, however, the eponym of Nabu-shar-ahheshu is assigned to 645, then the date of the first campaign is III/647 at the earliest and the second concluded in IX/646 at the latest.²²² The first option allows 6 months for the two campaigns the second 18 months.

Although there is no compelling evidence to recommend one option over the other, for the present, the shorter chronology is preferred here, and the eponym of Nabu-shar-ahheshu is assigned to 646.

The Summary Inscription T

History of T Research

Discovered by Thompson beneath the floor level of the southeast door of the Nabu Temple at Nineveh, T was published, by him, in 1931.²²³ Additions and corrections to the edition have been provided by Bauer, Piepkorn, Borger, Millard, and Cogan.²²⁴ T contains an abbreviated account of a single campaign against Elam and belongs to the class of texts known as "summary" texts.²²⁵

Content of T

The introduction to T is the largest section of the text, taking up 3 1/2 columns.²²⁶ The introduction is nearly identical to the introduction of editions K and C, and details the building projects of the king.²²⁷ The military narration is confined to the description of a single campaign against Elam and that is abbreviated.²²⁸ The building inscription commemorates the building of the Bit-Akitu of the goddess Ishtar at Nineveh.

Date of T

T is dated to the eponym year of Nabu-shar-ahheshu, the same year as edition F, which has already been posited to be 646.²²⁹

Edition A

History of Edition A Research

Edition A was first represented by two excellent examples of foundation prisms: "Cylinder A" and the "Rassam Cylinder."²³⁰ Both prisms were found, by Hormuzd Rassam, at the site of Nineveh in the Assurbanipal palace (the North palace). Cylinder A is the only Assurbanipal prism to be found *in situ*, inside a wall.²³¹ The Rassam Cylinder was found a few years later in a location described as "a few feet from Cylinder A."²³² Though Cylinder A was found in perfect condition it was broken when it was transferred to the British Museum. Publication of Cylinder A came in 1870, when it was edited by G. Smith in *3R*.²³³ Restorations of the broken portions were made by comparison with other editions, especially B, D, and C. The discovery of the Rassam Cylinder in 1875 and its publication in 1878 completed the edition of A.²³⁴ A complete critical edition of the prism was published in copy by Winckler in 1895,²³⁵ and again by Lau and Langdon in 1903.²³⁶

Additional fragments of and notes on the editions continued to appear but it was Streck who prepared a complete text edition of all the known Assurbanipal editions, including A, in 1916.²³⁷ Streck's work remains the *editio princeps* of edition A. More recent contributions have been made by Thompson²³⁸ and Lambert and Millard.²³⁹

Contents of Edition A

Edition A is probably the best known of all of the editions of

Assurbanipal's annals.²⁴⁰ It is the edition which formed the basis of most of the early studies of Assurbanipal's reign. It is the longest version of the Assurbanipal annals known, but although it includes the largest number of campaign accounts, not all of the known campaigns are represented.

The introduction of edition A is largely the same as that of Edition F, with some minor variants²⁴¹ and a ten-line addition at the end of the introduction describes the prosperity of the kingdom during Assurbanipal's reign.²⁴²

The military narration of A restores some of the campaigns which were omitted from edition F, but not all. The narration is divided into nine *girru*: *girru* I and II to the west against Egypt; *girru* III against the west coast of Syria and Anatolia; the *girru* against Kirbit is again omitted and *girru* IV is against the Manneans, but omits the Media episode usually included here. *Girru* V is against Elam (the first campaign against Elam is again omitted as in F). *Girru* VI records the campaign against Babylon which had been omitted in F. *Girru* VII-VIII recount the campaigns against Elam and *girru* IX includes two campaigns against the Arabs, which had also been omitted from F.

The building inscription of A, like the introduction, is virtually identical to that of F.²⁴³

Date of Edition A

Edition A is dated to 1 Nisanu (I), the eponym year of Shamash-danninanni, usually dated to the year 643.²⁴⁴

The Summary inscription H

History of H Research

The summary inscription H, the last of Assurbanipal's royal inscriptions, is not very well known and is as yet unedited. H was first identified by E. Nassouhi in 1925.²⁴⁵ The prism, usually designated H₁, preserved four columns of an eight-sided prism. The prism exhibited two unusual features: first, it was inscribed in the Neo-Babylonian script and second, it was dated in the Babylonian fashion, by regnal year. A second exemplar of this inscription was identified by Weidner some years later,²⁴⁶ usually designated H₂, it preserved only a portion of a single column. Additional fragments have now been identified in both Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian script.²⁴⁷

Content of H

The published fragments of H give a rough outline of the contents of the inscription:

<u>Col.</u>	<u>Content</u>
i	Introduction
ii	Detailed description of two beds dedicated to Marduk
iii	Egyptian campaign; campaign against Ba'al of Tyre
iv	Against the Manneans; Urtak of Elam; Te-Uman of Elam; Gambulu
v	Accession of Ummaladas?
vi	Campaign against Elam, destruction of Susa
vii	Submission of Cyrus
viii	Dugdanne; curse formula, date.

H omits the use of *girru* to separate the campaigns and probably should be classed as a summary text. No building inscription is preserved for H.

Date of H

The date preserved on H_1 is given in the Babylonian fashion by regnal year of the king, as the 30th year of Assurbanipal, thus 639. Another possible manuscript of H gives the date in the Assyrian style as the eponym year of Sin-shar-usur, also attributable to 639.²⁴⁸

The Summary Inscription IT

History of IT Research

The summary inscription IT is a large trilingual display inscription. Inscribed in limestone it was set up in triplicate in the Temple of Ishtar at Nineveh. The inscription was found by R.C. Thompson during the excavations at Nineveh in 1930-31 and was published by him in 1933.²⁴⁹

Content of IT

The inscription is dedicated to the goddess Ninlil and begins with a long paean of praise to her. This is followed by the name of Assurbanipal, his titles, genealogy, epithets, and a summary of building projects in Assyria and Babylonia.

The military narration is in the summary style, arranged geographically and without any introduction using *girru*. The choice of campaigns included seems to be the same as those of the summary inscription H.²⁵⁰

The building inscription commemorates the repair of a portion of the Emashmash, the temple of Ninlil.

Date of IT

There is no date preserved on any of the copies of the inscription. The similarities in the military narration between H and IT, however, suggests that it was composed at about the same time, 639.

OTHER ROYAL INSCRIPTIONS

There are a large number of royal inscriptions found among the tablets of the Kouyunjik collection that cannot be identified as belonging to a known annals or summary inscription. These inscriptions, on prisms or on tablets, are usually described as "Building and Dedicatory inscriptions" for lack of a better term. Both Streck and Bauer published many of these fragmentary inscriptions along with their text editions of Assurbanipal's annals.²⁵¹

These inscriptions vary from large, multi-column inscriptions containing substantial historical narratives to two line dedications. The larger inscriptions often preserve historical narratives which are nearly identical to narratives found in the annals or summary inscriptions. Others, while preserving narratives very similar to those of the annals and summary inscriptions, often include brief notices of people or events that are not found elsewhere.²⁵² On rare occasion these inscriptions may preserve accounts which differ substantially in style (very literary) or tone (from a religious rather than military point of view) from their corresponding narratives in the annals.²⁵³

Whether these fragmentary texts represent archival copies of inscriptions (see above annals tablets--HT, p. 54), draft copies of inscriptions, or some other type of inscription is, at present, unknown.

Among the tablet and prism fragments found at Kouyunjik are royal inscriptions that belong to genres other than commemorative

inscriptions, such as "Letters to the God." There are two such letters from the time of Assurbanipal.²⁵⁴ The "Letters to the God" known from other reigns include substantial narratives of military/historical events, as does one of Assurbanipal's. The second of the two "Letters" is entirely different: it is very short in length and contains only brief historical notices.

These "Other Royal Inscriptions" are used in the discussion of Chapter Three, only when they contribute relevant information to the discussion.

LETTERS

A very different and important perspective on Assyrian foreign and internal affairs is provided by the royal correspondence: letters written by or to the Assyrian king, his officers, officials, and scholars. They are a vast, largely untapped source of information about the state of affairs in many parts of the empire. They also provide a balance to the royal rhetoric of the annals.

The letters are among the most difficult sources to use. They are often fragmentary and are out of context. They are undated and only rarely refer to events that we can identify from our royal sources. They are also fragmentary and do not provide a connected narrative. The letters are usually written in either the Neo-Assyrian or Neo-Babylonian dialects which are not well understood.

The corpus of letters currently stands at about 2,300 letters and fragments and spans a 250 year period.²⁵⁵ The vast majority of these letters come from the sites of Nineveh and Nimrud. The letters were sporadically published in copy and translation during the 19th century. The first publication of a substantial body of these letters came with the publication of R.F. Harper's *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters* which appeared in the years 1892-1902.²⁵⁶ Harper published in type-face copy some 1,471 letters in both Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian dialects. The letters were arranged "according to the names of the scribes (senders)."

Harper's publication made the letters available to scholars who began to produce studies on selected topics in the letters. It was

Harper's student L. Waterman who took up the enormous challenge of publishing complete transliterations, translations, commentary, and indices for the entire Harper corpus.²⁵⁷ His work appeared in print in 1930 and remains the *editio princeps* for the Nineveh letter corpus.

The Nimrud letters are a substantially smaller corpus of letters. Discovered during the excavations of Nimrud in 1952, they number approximately 300. Publication of the letters, in small lots, have appeared in *Iraq* since 1955.

Two recent publications, *CT* 54 and 55, added a considerable number of letters to the available corpus from Nineveh.²⁵⁸ The re-editing of the entire corpus of letters from the Neo-Assyrian period has been undertaken by K. Deller and S. Parpola, but has not yet appeared in print.

Assurbanipal Letters

The majority of the letters datable to Assurbanipal's reign come from the first few years of his reign and the period of the Shamash-shum-ukin war, 652-648. According to Parpola²⁵⁹ approximately half of the letters from the beginning of Assurbanipal's reign deal with matters of medicine, extispicy, astrology, and omen interpretation, while the other half deal with internal administrative matters. The letters from the period 652-648 deal with very different matters: they largely convey royal orders from the king to people or peoples involved in the Shamash-shum-ukin rebellion.

The letters can provide very important information about certain topics and periods in the reign of Assurbanipal. At the same time,

however, that information is particular to certain periods and not representative of Assurbanipal's reign as a whole.

BABYLONIAN CHRONICLES

The Babylonian Chronicles are a series of texts which chronicle events in Babylonia dating from the mid-eighth century to the third century BC. The texts have been edited and discussed by A.K. Grayson in *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*.

Grayson divides the largest series into two sub-series, the Neo-Babylonian series and the Late Babylonian series, the dividing point being the capture of Babylon by the Persians in 539. It is the Neo-Babylonian Chronicle series which is of interest here.²⁶⁰

In addition to the two large series there are also several similar series which date from the Neo-Babylonian period, such as the Esarhaddon Chronicle and the Akitu Chronicle.²⁶¹

Each text contains one or more entries, dated by regnal year of the king in Babylon. Each entry contains the record of selected military or political events narrated in the third person. Although the point of view of these documents is clearly Babylonian, neither the purpose nor the authorship is known.

Occasionally these Chronicles contain information which informs us of events in Assyria or that concern Assyria.

THE RELIEFS AND ASSOCIATED TEXTSIntroduction

In this section the non-written sources for the Elamite campaigns of Assurbanipal are introduced. The source material consists of the historical reliefs of the North palace of Assurbanipal and the Southwest palace of Sennacherib at Nineveh. The development of these reliefs in the context of Assyrian palace decoration is presented briefly and then the content of the historical reliefs of the relevant rooms is described.

Associated texts, the epigraphs, or captions present on the historical reliefs are also discussed here. Although the epigraphs are a "written" source, they actually belong to the realm of the visual rather than that of the text; hence their inclusion under this heading.

The Palaces

The ruins of the palaces of the Assyrian kings at Nineveh, Nimrud, and Khorsabad in northern Iraq were excavated by British and French expeditions during the nineteenth century. The palaces of Assurnasirpal II and Tiglath-pileser III at Nimrud, of Sennacherib and Assurbanipal at Nineveh, and of Sargon at Khorsabad yielded thousands of tablets as well as monumental sculpture and carved reliefs. These sculptures and reliefs, now scattered throughout the world's museum collections, formed part of the visual image of the Assyrian king and, by extension, of Assyria itself.

Excavations at the mound of Kouyunjik,²⁶² ancient Nineveh (near

modern Mosul), were begun in 1846 by Austin Henry Layard and continued on a fairly regular basis until 1855, then sporadically until the present day.

The excavation of the two palaces at Nineveh, the Southwest palace of Sennacherib and the North palace of Assurbanipal, revealed a large number of rooms decorated with carved limestone slabs or orthostats arranged to produce elaborate and detailed narrative reliefs as well as reliefs of formal and apotropaic nature. Those reliefs which were in good condition were removed and sent to various museum collections, particularly the British Museum and the Louvre.

Assurbanipal's palace at Nineveh, the North palace, begun at about 646 BC and still incomplete at his death,²⁶³ was largely decorated with historical narrative reliefs. These reliefs depicted Assurbanipal's military and hunting activities. The decoration of a particular room was usually confined to a single campaign or region. There is information and reliefs in good repair for thirteen rooms. Of those thirteen rooms, the reliefs of seven were devoted to or included Elamite campaigns. In addition, Assurbanipal redecorated at least one room, room 33, in the palace of his grandfather, Sennacherib.

Before considering the specific sculptures of Assurbanipal's palace it is important to look very briefly at the development of the use of narrative relief in Assyrian palace decoration.

Studies of narrative relief as part of the decoration of Assyrian palaces or of their placement in the decorative programs of rooms or palaces are few and fairly recent.²⁶⁴ Narrative relief is first seen, in Assyrian art, at the time of Tukulti-Ninurta I (1244-1208). A

carved altar depicts the king in two positions before an altar, a type of cartoon effect.²⁶⁵ Narrative reliefs next appear on the obelisks and bronze gate-bands of Assurnasirpal II (883-859) and Shalmaneser III (858-824).²⁶⁶ The compositions depicted on the gate-bands (in either one or two registers) could be confined to a single band or extend onto a second. Similarly, the compositions of the panels that make up the relief decoration of the obelisks could extend onto several panels. These compositions were not generic battle scenes, but represented specific battles and events; this is especially clear from the epigraphs, or labels, which appeared over some of the compositions and name the enemy city or sources of the depicted tribute.

Assurnasirpal was the first, as far as we know, to use narrative relief in the decoration of his throneroom. The decoration of the throneroom was composed of orthostats divided horizontally into two registers by a band of inscription. The text of this inscribed band was a summary inscription of Assurnasirpal's military achievements and was repeated in its entirety on each slab.²⁶⁷ The narrative reliefs of the throneroom represented military campaigns and their aftermath in several regions of the empire along with hunting scenes.²⁶⁸

Narrative time, in these compositions, was expressed in one of two ways. Either by depicting particular episodes in individual panels and arranging them sequentially, at the same time repeating the figure of the king in each episode, or time could be represented as continuous, the narration of an event might begin at the left with later events depicted to the right and culminating at the far right of an orthostat sequence. The individual figures were not repeated at

each point of the narrative. The narrative reliefs of Assurnasirpal II's throneroom are generally episodic.

The next king for whom we have information, Tiglath-pileser III (745-727),²⁶⁹ expands the use of historical narrative in palace decoration, though to what degree is unclear since his reliefs are in poor condition. The reliefs from Tiglath-pileser III's palace at Kalhu are carved in a manner similar to those of Assurnasirpal. They are two-register compositions separated by a band of inscription.²⁷⁰ The orthostats seem to be organized to show battle scenes in the upper register and processional/review scenes in the lower.

Sargon II's (721-705) palace at Khorsabad had large scale historical narrative reliefs in many rooms.²⁷¹ The historical narratives were arranged to show scenes from one area in one room. Sargon also used, in general, the two-register system with a band of inscription between them.

By the time of Sennacherib, narrative relief clearly dominated the decoration of the palace.²⁷² Unlike his predecessors, Sennacherib preferred a single-register arrangement of his narratives and omitted the band of inscription entirely. He did, however, make extensive use of the epigraph, a feature of these narrative reliefs which will be discussed separately. Like Sargon's palace arrangement, each of Sennacherib's rooms exhibited scenes from a single campaign or region, only one court and two rooms showed scenes from more than one region.²⁷³ By the time of Sennacherib, the artist saw the wall as a continuous strip rather than a series of discrete panels, and largely ignored the separation of slabs. The once individual episodes flow

together in a continuous single space. The king appears usually only once at the conclusion of the campaign: the triumphal procession and review of the booty. The repetition of figures to indicate narrative time, as in a strip cartoon, was still used occasionally, but in less standardized battle scenes or subjects.²⁷⁴

Several trends can thus be noted in the development of the use of narrative reliefs in palace decoration: first, narrative reliefs gradually came to dominate palace decoration, supplanting other types of relief subjects. Historical narrative, as it is represented in the archaeological record, was first confined to small scale monuments, and then adapted to the large scale decoration of the throneroom. The use of large scale narrative reliefs in palace decoration continued to expand until, by the time of Sennacherib, narrative relief was featured in most of the public rooms and much of the private area. At the same time, other more traditional types of relief decoration (formal, apotropaic) appeared less often. Second, the narrative relief becomes increasingly specific, as indicated by the increase in detail, experimentation with field and register, and the use of epigraphs.²⁷⁵ Third, the tendency to arrange the reliefs according to region or campaign in particular rooms appeared during the reign of Sargon II and is generally maintained thereafter.

Finally, the use of written text which appeared in several different positions in palace decoration gradually decreased. Written text appeared, as part of palace decoration on the reliefs, as a band of inscription which separated the upper and lower registers and as epigraphs (discussed below). Written text was also inscribed on the

bull colossi positioned in important doorways and on threshold slabs. These inscriptions, summary inscriptions for the most part, disappeared as bands across the carved orthostats, then from the threshold slabs, and finally from the bull colossi.

The final stage in these trends occurred in the reliefs of the North palace of Assurbanipal at Nineveh.²⁷⁶ Of the twenty-three excavated ground-floor rooms and at least two upper level rooms (S¹, V¹/T¹), whose reliefs had fallen into the rooms below, all but six were decorated with historical narrative relief. Five of the six were left uncarved and one, court O, was decorated with formal reliefs.

Unfortunately many of the carved slabs found during the excavations were badly damaged and were not removed by the excavators and still others were lost, leaving just thirteen rooms about which there is sufficient information to identify the subject of their relief compositions. Five rooms were carved with hunting reliefs (A, C, R, S, S¹); these are the first hunting reliefs to appear in the palace since the time of Assurnasirpal. Two, perhaps three, rooms showed scenes of the Babylon campaign (J, H², M). Room L depicted a campaign against the Arabs. Six (F, G, H², I, S¹, V¹/T¹) rooms showed campaigns against the Elamites. Only the throneroom, M, depicted scenes from more than one campaign. The upper level room, S¹, probably depicted scenes from both a campaign and a hunting expedition. The rooms which depicted Elamite campaigns are the rooms to be discussed below.

Also of interest is room 33 in Sennacherib's palace which was redecorated by Assurbanipal with scenes from an Elamite campaign.

Assurbanipal's wall reliefs returned to the two-register system

that had been abandoned by his grandfather, Sennacherib. The reliefs from the upper level rooms were divided into three registers. Assurbanipal does not, however, restore the band of inscription which had separated the two registers of reliefs and had also been abandoned by Sennacherib. Two of the rooms (I in the North palace and 33 in the Southwest palace) depict Assurbanipal's campaign against Te-Uman of Elam at the Ulaya river, and Dunanu the Gambulian.²⁷⁷ Rooms F, S¹, and v¹/T¹ show scenes from Assurbanipal's campaigns against Elam subsequent to the Babylon campaign of 652-648. The subjects of rooms G and H seem to be Elamite campaigns but the reliefs are too fragmentary to be identified as a particular campaign.²⁷⁸ Room M, the throneroom, is the only room in the palace that contained scenes from more than one region. The southwest wall showed the conclusion of the campaign against Babylon and the last major campaign of Assurbanipal against the Elamites. The northeast wall contained scenes from one of Assurbanipal's campaigns against Egypt.

The majority of the subjects chosen for the historical reliefs of the North palace seem to focus on the events following the Shamash-shum-ukin rebellion which concluded in 648, especially the 4th and 5th Elamite campaigns, an Arab campaign, and the Babylon campaign itself. These campaigns are shown in 8 of the 13 rooms for which there is good information. The only pre-648 campaigns known to have been depicted in the palace are an Egyptian campaign shown in the throneroom, M, and the Elamite battle at the Ulaya river in room I.

The Epigraphs

Of the four types of text which appeared as decorative elements in the palace (inscribed bands on the reliefs, bull inscriptions, inscribed threshold slabs, and epigraphs) all but the epigraphs drop out of use by the time of Assurbanipal. Therefore only the epigraphs are dealt with here in detail.

Epigraphs On Reliefs

Epigraphs, brief explanatory labels or captions, appear on the Assyrian reliefs almost at the same time as narrative relief appears in Assyrian art. The occurrence of epigraphs is restricted to narrative reliefs and first appears on the obelisks and bronze gate-bands of Assurnasirpal II (883-859) and his successor, Shalmaneser III (858-824). When narrative relief makes the transition from small scale object to palace wall decoration the epigraphs do not initially accompany it; no epigraphs appear on the historical reliefs from Assurnasirpal's palace.²⁷⁹ Epigraphs could either be inscribed directly on the face of the reliefs, or when they begin to appear on the palace wall decoration, they could be inscribed on plaques which were then affixed to the reliefs.²⁸⁰ The epigraphs that appear on the obelisks and bronze gate-bands were usually simple declarative sentences, "city X of PN of the land Y, I conquered," or phrases of the type, "battle of X."²⁸¹ Occasionally they could be quite detailed, listing the tribute received or describing the setting up of a stele. They are, however, usually restricted to describing an event which is clearly discernible from the relief.

After their appearance on obelisks and bronze gate-bands, epigraphs next appear on the wall reliefs in the palace of Tiglath-pileser III (745-727).²⁸² The form of these epigraphs is somewhat different from their predecessors; these epigraphs are confined to individual city names.

The epigraphs on wall reliefs become more complex under Sargon II (721-705) and are used more frequently on the reliefs of the palace at Khorsabad. They are still largely single word or phrase epigraphs but in a few cases were expanded to full declarative sentences which describe the action depicted. Only in room 8 were the epigraphs somewhat longer, describing the fate of three of the captives shown.²⁸³

Further expansion of the use of the epigraph can be seen on the reliefs of Sennacherib (704-681) from his palace at Nineveh. Some twenty-five epigraphs dating to Sennacherib are known from his palace;²⁸⁴ they are of three types which are referred to hereafter as (1) labels, (2) *anāku* epigraphs, and (3) descriptive epigraphs. Labels, are either simple single word or sentence fragment epigraphs such as a city name or "camp of Sennacherib." They may also appear as short declarative sentences which describe the action depicted. These are always used for cities under seige and are always in the first person.

The second type are called *anāku* captions because they are always written in the first person and identify the subject of the reliefs as the king of Assyria. The first person independent pronoun, *anāku*, does not appear in these epigraphs at this time, but does appear in this type of epigraph at the time of Assurbanipal. These captions are

always placed near the image of the king and begin with his name and the same two royal titles, "Sennacherib, king of the world, king of Assyria." The subject of these epigraphs is exclusively the origin of the booty/tribute which is shown being paraded before the king. Sennacherib's epigraphs mark the first time the king's name is used in an epigraph. Up until this time, epigraphs were used to identify the enemy, his city, or his tribute. This development coincides with the disappearance of the band of inscription from the palace reliefs. It has been suggested that this type of epigraph, giving the "I" of the relief, was developed specifically to replace the band of inscription which was a summary inscription, repeated in full on each slab, and which always began with the king's name and titles.²⁸⁵

Finally, descriptive epigraphs were more elaborate than the other two types. Like the *anāku* epigraphs, they began with the name and two titles of the king. Although they too described the subject of the relief, the information related in the epigraph was not as readily apparent from the relief. For example, a "label" placed above a city shown under attack and burning may have stated only that "the city X, I besieged, I conquered, I burned;" all of which was clear from the relief. A descriptive epigraph, on the other hand, may insert information about the difficulty Sennacherib encountered in reaching the city or the source of the colossi being transported.²⁸⁶ These epigraphs could be expressed in either first or third person sentences. The *anāku* and descriptive epigraphs are therefore similar in form but differ in content and sometimes syntax (third instead of first person grammatical forms).

With the increasing length of the epigraph, space became a problem. Before the time of Sennacherib, the epigraph appears to be fitted around the carved figures, that is, it did not have a space of its own.²⁸⁷ Sennacherib's scribes, however, seem to allot space for the epigraph, and the longer epigraphs are neatly boxed. In accordance with this new planning for the epigraphs the placement of the epigraph becomes more specific in Sennacherib's reliefs.²⁸⁸ Labels appear over the city named as they did before, but the *anāku* and descriptive epigraphs shift to a position closer to the figure of the king.

Greater use of the epigraph, along the same lines, is seen in the epigraphs of Assurbanipal (668-627). A total of thirty-four epigraphs are known from Assurbanipal's reliefs: twenty-four from the sculptures of the North palace, two from plaques found out of context in the North palace and eight from the reliefs of room 33 in Sennacherib's palace. Of the thirty-four epigraphs all but seven appear on reliefs which depict campaigns against the Elamites. One appears on a relief depicting a banquet, five others are known from the hunting reliefs, and the final one appears in a scene showing tribute from Babylon.²⁸⁹ However, in several of these seven epigraphs the Elamites are represented. The epigraph on the banquet scene is placed over the figures of two Elamite kings and describes their activities. One of the five epigraphs from the hunting reliefs mentions Urtak of Elam, and the tribute scene shows two Elamite kings in the procession.

Assurbanipal's epigraphs fall into the same three categories as did Sennacherib's epigraphs, but the categories are more clearly distinguished. (1) The simple single word labels occur more rarely

(two), while the declarative sentence label is more common. (2) The *anāku* epigraphs, at this time, always begin with the word *anāku*, "I," and proceed as under Sennacherib, "I, Assurbanipal, king of the world, king of Assyria." They add a short phrase concerning divine sanction "at the command of Assur...." and then continue with a description of the tribute procession.²⁹⁰ The *anāku* epigraph is still concerned exclusively with the processions of tribute, booty, and captives depicted on the reliefs. (3) Descriptive epigraphs become much more common in the reliefs of Assurbanipal; there are eleven examples, of which six appear on one series of reliefs alone. The descriptive epigraphs of Assurbanipal's reliefs usually describe the activity of one small moment in the narrative. They are always narrated in the third person and usually involve the capture, surrender, or punishment of the enemy. Even when the subject of the epigraph is the king, these epigraphs never begin with *anāku* and/or the name and titles of the king. They are clearly separated in form as well as content from the *anāku* epigraphs. The descriptive epigraphs are often associated with cartoon style reliefs.²⁹¹ The room 33 reliefs are a good example of this. The descriptive epigraphs follow the activities and fate of the Elamite king, Te-Umman, and his son through several incidents and across several orthostats (see below Elam 2 and Appendix A). Occasionally, descriptive epigraphs give voice to a character in the form of a direct quote.²⁹²

The use and placement of the epigraphs under Assurbanipal becomes highly specific. *Anāku* epigraphs always appear in processional scenes and are placed above and in front of the image of the king in his

chariot. Labels, both single words and declarative sentences, are usually reserved for standard attack-conquer-plunder scenes. They always identify the city under attack. Descriptive epigraphs appear directly above or below the moment they are describing.

The purpose of these epigraphs has recently been touched on by several authors.²⁹³ The epigraphs act immediately to focus the attention of the viewer; even an illiterate viewer's attention is focused by their mere presence. They also provide specificity. A viewer familiar with the visual code employed may recognize that the relief depicts the destruction of an Elamite city, but the epigraph specifies that the city is a particular city. The epigraph functions to "anchor" the image;²⁹⁴ for the literate viewer, it thus ensures the correct interpretation of the events depicted. The epigraph may also "quicken" the image, reinforcing with words the depicted event.

The increasing use of the epigraph under Sennacherib and Assurbanipal corresponds to a parallel increase in the use of narrative relief in the palace decoration and also corresponds to a decrease in the use of the other types of written text as decoration in the palaces. Several types of written text have traditionally appeared as part of the palace decoration. As noted above (p. 86) annalistic texts were written directly on the reliefs as bands of inscription which either separated registers of narrative relief or were inscribed across the center or lower portion of formal or apotropaic reliefs. Annalistic texts were also inscribed between the legs of the bull colossi at the entrances to selected rooms or courts and also on threshold slabs.

In Sennacherib's palace the bands of inscription were omitted from all types of relief and the epigraph became the only type of written "text" which appeared directly on the face of the relief. Sennacherib also omits summary or annalistic texts from the threshold slabs, but continues to inscribe them on the bull colossi. Assurbanipal omits the use of all these types of written text as palace decoration, except the epigraph. The reason for this phenomenon is not clear. The first time that the bands of inscription are omitted from the reliefs is in room XIV in Sargon's palace. This same room also exhibited one of the longest examples of Sargon's epigraphs. Another, perhaps related, development is that the campaigns are now arranged one per room. With this arrangement, the band of text, annalistic accounts of the king's battles, bore little direct relationship to the reliefs shown. The epigraphs may have been preferred now for their direct relationship to the events depicted. The omission of the larger text in Sennacherib's palace also signals the beginning of the use of the *anāku* epigraph, perhaps to indicate the "I" of the relief previously indicated only by the long bands of inscription.²⁹⁵ This abandonment of the larger text may also be the reason for the increasing use of the descriptive epigraph, which becomes more detailed and thus takes up one of the other possible functions of the bands of inscription--amplification.²⁹⁶ Individuals who would otherwise remain anonymous to anyone who had not been on the campaign were identified by name and could even be quoted.

Epigraphs on Tablets

In addition to captions on reliefs there are lists of captions on clay tablets. One fragmentary example has survived from the reign of Sennacherib²⁹⁷ and several from the reign of Assurbanipal. The tablets from Assurbanipal's reign were treated by Weidner.²⁹⁸ Weidner identified two cycles of epigraphs: the first, consisting of about 50 epigraphs, centered about the Te-Umman-Dununu campaign of 653; the second, of about 33 epigraphs, centered about the Shamash-shum-ukin rebellion, particularly the activities of Shamash-shum-ukin's allies, the Elamites. These lists of Assurbanipal's epigraphs were found in numerous exemplars. They contained different numbers of epigraphs and in the case of the first cycle, were arranged in varying orders. In no case did any one tablet contain all the known epigraphs from either cycle nor did any one tablet record epigraphs from both cycles.

Weidner constructed a composite text of both cycles and numbered the epigraphs consecutively through both cycles (Te-Umman-Dununu 1-38 and 12 unnumbered;²⁹⁹ Shamash-shum-ukin 51-83). Only nine of the epigraphs (seven from the first cycle and two from the second) found on these tablets are actually known from the reliefs: six appear on the reliefs of room 33 in Sennacherib's palace, two in Assurbanipal's palace, in rooms I and M, and one on a plaque. Conversely, some 25 epigraphs appear on the reliefs but not on the tablets.

The relationship between these epigraphs on tablets and those on the reliefs is unclear. The colophons preserved on some of the tablets, especially those that record epigraphs for the second cycle, indicate a direct relationship between the epigraphs on the tablets and

those on the reliefs. That is, the epigraphs on the tablets were intended for the reliefs, although, in fact, only one epigraph from the second cycle is known to appear on the reliefs.³⁰⁰ The only extant colophon from tablets recording epigraphs from the first cycle is less informative, saying only that the text was read to the king, presumably for his approval.³⁰¹ Weidner considered these tablets to be sample epigraphs which were made up from sample reliefs as a pattern for the stone carver.³⁰² Phrases such as, "... in the lower register is shown," also indicate that these collections were at least originally destined for the reliefs,³⁰³ and must have been composed after the reliefs were carved. Wherever an epigraph is preserved on both a relief and on one of these tablets the epigraph is usually, but for minor orthographic variants, identical.³⁰⁴ These orthographic variants can always be attributed to problems of space. If the space provided was too small, the variants give shorter signs or writings (*ina KU-ti* for *ina tu-kul-ti*)³⁰⁵ and the epigraph appears to have been squeezed into the space provided. If the space provided was too large the variants give longer signs or writings (*mah-ri-ya* for *IGI-ya*),³⁰⁶ and the epigraph appears stretched in order to fill the space provided.

Reade, in a discussion of the Te-Umann-Dununu cycle, suggests that these tablets represent "guide books" to the reliefs.³⁰⁷ This is unlikely since, as Weidner showed, the tablets were not copied from the reliefs.³⁰⁸ First, the variants seem to be space related. While a stone carver could be faced with space problems on a relief where an "area" or "box" had been provided by the "artist," this would not happen to the scribe working on a tablet except perhaps when he reached

the end of the tablet. Second, several of the epigraphs on the tablets omit a name and leave a space where the name should be placed.³⁰⁹ In the case of one of the epigraphs which occurs on both tablet and relief, the names are missing from the tablet but not from the relief. There would have been no reason to omit the names if the scribe of the tablet were copying from the relief. In another case where an epigraph appears on both a tablet and a relief the names are omitted from the epigraph on the relief³¹⁰ and also from the tablet. Hence, if there is, in fact, any direct relationship between these tablets and the reliefs, the scribes would have been working from tablet to relief rather than from relief to tablet.

The epigraphs on the tablets conform to the same three types as those of the reliefs. However, with the exception of the epigraphs on the reliefs of room 33, the epigraphs recorded on the tablets are far more interesting than those on the reliefs. They are more often of the descriptive type; moreover, like the epigraphs of the hunting reliefs they also mix the *anāku*/descriptive forms. They mention people unknown from other sources³¹¹ and deal with subjects which, although represented on the reliefs, are left uncaptioned there.³¹² The *anāku* captions recorded on the tablets do not confine themselves to describing the booty collected by Assurbanipal, but deal also with other topics such as the ritual sacrifice at the close of the campaign.³¹³ It seems that whoever was choosing the epigraphs (whether the king himself or the scribes) they were very conservative in their choice of which captions should appear on the reliefs. The epigraphs, whether they appeared on reliefs or on tablets, were clearly composed

for the reliefs and the subjects depicted there.

The fact that the subject matter, language, and information of the epigraphs, often differ from that of the annals indicates that the epigraphs were not patterned on or excerpted from the annals or other royal inscriptions. The high correspondence between the subject matter of the reliefs and the annals, as well as between the language of the epigraphs and the annals can be explained without recourse to the concept of a "text behind the image." Considering subject matter first, just as the purpose of the annals was to describe and glorify the actions of the Assyrian king so too was the purpose of the palace decoration to project an image of the king to both residents and visitors. The king's activities formed the pool from which both the scribes and artists worked. The similarities in the choice of subject and detail should not be surprising since, regardless of the medium of communication, the image the palace authorities wished to convey would have been the same. Differences in the choice of subject matter can often be explained by the special demands of the visual versus written medium.³¹⁴

The similarity of expression between the epigraphs and the annals is likewise not surprising since the scribes who composed the annals were probably the same as those who composed the epigraphs and in any case the language of destruction is not likely to vary whether the main narrative is verbal or visual.

ENDNOTES

1. Both the words "genre" and "annals" are to some degree misnomers here. The annals are not a separate and distinct "genre," rather they belong to the much larger genre of commemorative inscriptions, specifically building inscriptions. They are distinguished from other building inscriptions by the insertion of a first person account of the military accomplishments of the king. The term "annals" is also something of a misnomer since the annals of the late Neo-Assyrian kings abandon first the yearly arrangement of the campaigns and finally a chronological arrangement.
2. See below discussion pp. 26-28. Cogan and Tadmor, *OrNS* 46 (1977) 83 and n. 36.
3. Copies of the texts were published by Norris, in 1-2R; G. Smith in 3-4¹R; and Pinches in 4²-5R (1891, with studies such as G. Smith's *History of Ashurbanipal*.
4. As Olmstead complained: "And in nearly every reign it has been the latest and worst edition which has regularly been taken by the modern historian as the basis for their studies." (Olmstead, *Assyrian Historiography* 8). Although Olmstead's approach was critical and essentially correct he made a similar error in underestimating the value of these later editions "When it is not so contemporaneous, it has absolutely no value when we do have the original from which it was derived." *ibid* 8.
5. Above note 4 and see discussion below pp. 29ff.
6. Several scholars have devoted much of their work in recent years to the study of Assyrian inscriptions; note especially the contributions of M. Cogan, A.K. Grayson, and H. Tadmor. See the publications of special colloquia and seminars such as Fales, M. ed., *New Horizons in Literary, Ideological and Historical Analysis (Orientis Antiqui Collectio* 17, Rome: 1981) and H. Tadmor, M. Weinfeld eds. *History Historiography and Interpretation: Studies in Biblical and Cuneiform Literature* (Jerusalem: 1983). See also the larger projects such as CNR Research on the Stella della concezioni politiche nel Vicino Oriente antico; Lessico Idiologico assiro, and in Toronto, the Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Project.
7. The development of the annals form was summarized by Tadmor in *Studies Finkelstein* 209-213.
8. Grayson, *OrNS* 49 (1980) 150-155. The following discussion focuses on the development of the annals rather than their origin. No comprehensive study concerning the origin of the annals has yet been conducted; consult provisionally, Tadmor, *Studies Finkelstein* 209 and n. 2, and Grayson, *OrNS* 49 (1980) 143.

9. Tadmor, *Studies Finkelstein* 209; Munn-Rankin, *CAH* II² 296 and Grayson, *OrNS* 49 (1980) 150.
10. Borger, *EAK* 1 33-34, Grayson, *ARI* 1 57, 59-61 (LXXVI.3). For a detailed analysis and bibliography of the royal inscriptions of the kings discussed here consult Borger, *EAK* 1 or Schramm, *EAK* 2. For translation and discussion consult Grayson, *ARI* 1-2.
11. Borger, *EAK* 1 49-70; Grayson, *ARI* 1 79-85 (LXXVIII.1).
12. Borger, *EAK* 1 71-97; Grayson, *ARI* 1 101-105 (LXXVIII.1).
13. Grayson, *ARI* 1 107-109, 120-121 (LXXVIII.5, 17).
14. Tadmor, *Studies Finkelstein* 209; Grayson, *ARI* 2 1; Borger, *EAK* 1 112-134.
15. Borger, *EAK* 1 112-134; Grayson, *ARI* 2 3-29 (LXXXVII.1-4).
16. The Assyrians dated their years by the name of an official who occupied an office called a *lumu*. Each year a different official assumed this title. The names of the *lumu* officials were collected in lists in chronological order. These lists, called "canonical eponym lists," are published in *RIA* 2 412-457.
17. Tadmor, *Studies Finkelstein* 209-210; Grayson, *ARI* 2 20-22 (LXXXVII.2).
18. Other inscriptions of this king arrange the accounts geographically, see Grayson, *ARI* 2 20-29 (LXXXVII.2-4).
19. Tadmor, *Studies Finkelstein* 211; Borger, *EAK* 1 135-142; Borger, *ARI* 2 46-56 (LXXXIX.1-2).
20. Tadmor, *Studies Finkelstein* 211; Borger, *EAK* 1 138-142; Grayson, *ARI* 2 55-56 (LXXXIX.2).
21. Schramm, *EAK* 2 1-2; Grayson, *ARI* 2 74-78 (XCVIII.1).
22. Schramm, *EAK* 2 3-8; Grayson, *ARI* 2 81-92 (XCIX.1-3).
23. Schramm, *EAK* 2 18-69; Grayson, *ARI* 2 113-211.
24. The first occurrence of *pali* for regnal year in the royal inscriptions is found in the inscriptions of Shalmaneser I, but *pali* did not come to be used to count successive regnal years until after the 8th year of Shalmaneser III. For a full discussion of *pali*, its equivalence to *šattu*, "year," and its history in the royal inscriptions see Tadmor, *JCS* 12 (1958) 26-30 and *ARINH* 19-20. See also Schramm, *EAK* 2 100-103.
25. Tadmor, *JCS* 12 (1958) 30; Schramm, *EAK* 2 106-109.

26. The Monolith Inscription: 1R, 29-31, Luckenbill, *ARAB* 253-259.

27. Tadmor, *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities* 2.9 (1967) 173-186.

28. Tadmor, *JCS* 12 (1958) 26-33.

29. Tadmor, *JCS* 12 (1958) 31.

30. Tadmor, *JCS* 12 (1958) 30-32 and Tadmor, *ARINH* 19-20.

31. Tadmor, *JCS* 12 (1958) 30-32 with nts. 71 and 72.

32. Tadmor, *JCS* 12 (1958) 31 with note 84. See *OIP* 2 for the inscriptions of Sennacherib.

33. Levine, *JCS* 34 (1982) 28-58.

34. Levine, *JCS* 34 (1982) 30, 34; Brinkman, *Studies Oppenheim* 24. The fact that an account of the first campaign was composed (*OIP* 2 48-55) is difficult to explain if the army had not returned to Assyria prior to commencing the second campaign (*OIP* 2 55:60); but see below n. 38.

35. *OIP* 2 85-89.

36. *OIP* 2 87:27. Levine, *JCS* 34 (1982) 42, 46. The Nebi Yunus inscription seems to combine the events of the second half of the 6th campaign with the events of the 7th campaign, which took place between 6/IV/693--IX/693, that is, within the next one year period. A second arka begins the 8th campaign at 17/V/692 (*OIP* 2 88:44).

37. For another suggestion, see Russell, *Palace without Rival* 175-176 and also below pp. 234ff. and Chapter Four n. 2.

38. *Girru* is only used in one inscription of Esarhaddon, K.3082+: Borger, *Asarh.* 112.

39. K = BM 134436 col. b 29 (Thompson, *Iraq* 7 [1940] no. 34, Cogan and Tadmor, *OrNS* 50 [1981] 231-234), calls the Bit-Imbi campaign the 11th *girru* while succeeding editions F iii 46 and A iv 132 include the Bit-Imbi campaign within the account of a campaign against Ummanaldas, marking it off with the words *ina m̄tiq girriya*, "in the course of my campaign."

40. Tadmor (*Studies Finkelstein* 209) in discussing the annals of Tiglath-pileser I, refers to the inscriptions designated "Borger Thontafel" A, B, and C as recensions (= editions) of Tiglath-pileser's annals but by his own definition (below n. 43) B and C are a different category of text--"display" inscriptions; see Grayson, *ARI* 2 22-30.

41. Cogan and Tadmor, *OrNS* 46 (1977) 83 and n. 36; Tadmor, *Iraq* 35 (1973) 141 and Grayson, *OrNS* 49 (1980) 152.

42. Cf. Tadmor, *Studies Finkelstein* 209, Grayson, *ARI* 2 LXXXVII.1-4 and see above n. 18.

43. Tadmor also discusses his preference for the term "summary" though in a somewhat different context; Tadmor, *Iraq* 35 (1973) 141.

44. Above pp. 17, 19, and Tadmor, *Studies Finkelstein* 210.

45. G. Smith in *3R* assigns letters to editions B, C, and D. See Streck, *Asb.* XVI n. 2.

46. G. Smith, *History of Ashurbanipal* uses A as the basis of his history, and *History of Sennacherib*.

47. Olmstead, *Assyrian Historiography*.

48. Olmstead, *Assyrian Historiography* 8.

49. AS 5 1. Olmstead, *Assyrian Historiography* 54-56, Olmstead's G = edition F and is in fact, post E, B. His D = edition C, F = HT and H = unidentified edition.

50. AS 5 4.

51. AS 5 ix.

52. For a fuller discussion of this topic see Grayson, *OrNS* 49 (1980) 164-170.

53. Barnett, *Sculptures*, pls. XVII, LXVII. For other examples from the reliefs see Russell, *Palace without Rival* 90 n. 150.

54. For a discussion of writing boards see Wiseman, *Iraq* 17 (1953) 3-13.

55. Postgate, *Taxation* 111-130; Weidner, *AfO* 10 (1935-1936) 9-52; Martin, *StOr* 8 (1939) 21-50; and Cogan, *Imperialism and Religion* 118.

56. Only two are known among the Assyrian documents, Grayson, *ARI* 2 94-95 (XCIX.6) and *ADD* 1096 (Weidner, *AfO* 21 [1966] 42-46).

57. Tadmor, *Iraq* 35 (1973) 142 after Deller, *OrNS* 26 (1957) 269 n.

2. In at least one case Tadmor points out that the "other" account was an account of a campaign led by a general. Cf. Brinkman, *PKB* 212 n. 1322.

58. See discussion below pp. 187ff. Cameron, *HEI* 197 and n. 47; Parpola, *ARINH* 123.

59. See Tadmor, *Studies Finkelstein* 209-213 for the discussion on the appearance of the Middle Assyrian Chronicles in the royal annals. For the publication of the Middle Assyrian Chronicles see Grayson, *TCS* 5 66-67, 184-189.

60. "The process by which these recensions were made is always the same. The next earlier edition was taken as a basis, and from this were extracted, generally in the exact words of the original, such facts as seemed of value to the compiler." Olmstead, *Assyrian Historiography* 21.

61. As noted by Levine (*HHI* 59 n. 2) the term "historical section," usually used in the past to indicate the military narration as distinct from the rest of the inscription is inaccurate since the building inscription and sometimes the introduction could be as fully historical as the military narration.

62. Cogan, *JCS* 32 (1980) 149. Cogan's definition here should be expanded to include the rewriting of the building inscriptions since we usually consider edition D a separate edition even though its historical section is identical to B (see below pp. 59-60 and above n. 61.)

63. Above n. 16.

64. The "canonical" eponym lists break off after the year 648. Additional *līmu* officials are known for the period after 648 but are not, as yet, firmly dated. Provisionally see Falkner, *AfO* 17 (1954-1955) 100-120.

65. See below pp. 78-80.

66. Levine, *JNES* 32 (1973) 312-317.

67. *OIP* 2 60-61 (= 26:72-73).

68. *OIP* 2 58:22. The Bellino Cylinder was composed after the second campaign.

69. *OIP* 2 67:10.

70. Levine, *JNES* 32 (1973) 316. The bull inscription is actually later than Rassam, Levine postulates a similar, earlier inscription from which both the bull inscription and Rassam were derived (see his *stemma* p. 317).

71. Spalinger, *JAOS* 94 (1974) 316-328.

72. BM 82-5-22,10 in Bauer, *IWA* 56 and the annals tablets HT: see below pp. 54-55.

73. Cogan and Tadmor, *OrNS* 46 (1977) 65-85.

74. Below pp. 54-55.

75. Spalinger, *JAOS* 94 (1974) 316-328.

76. Above pp. 35-36.

77. Edition B was composed in 649/8, approx. 15 years after HT (below pp. 54-55), and some 18 years after the close of the first Egyptian campaign.

78. Spalinger, *JAOS* 94 (1974) 321, B ii 3-6 (*AS* 5 36).

79. Spalinger, *JAOS* 94 (1974) 321.

80. Liverani, *ARINH* 225-257.

81. The following discussion has abbreviated Liverani's work on the subject to illustrate the principle at hand, Liverani in this article discusses several other aspects of Assyrian editorial procedure.

82. *OIP* 2 51:26.

83. *OIP* 2 54:54.

84. Liverani, *ARINH* 253 and *Power and Propaganda* 312.

85. *OIP* 2 56:6: *ina qabal tamhāri*.

86. *OIP* 2 56:6.

87. *OIP* 2 60, Rassam Cylinder; cf. *OIP* 2 24:23-25.

88. Liverani, *ARINH* 255 (C1).

89. Basic discussions on Assyrian ideology can be found in Liverani, *ARINH* 225-257, *Power and Propaganda* 297-317; Zaccagnini, *ARINH* 259-295 and *Mesopotamien und seine Nachbarn* II 409-424; Fales, *Mesopotamien und seine Nachbarn* II 425-435; and Tadmor, *ARINH* 13-33.

90. Liverani, *OrNS* 42 (1973) 178-194 and Tadmor, *ARINH* 13.

91. Tadmor, *ARINH* 33.

92. The various titles and epithets of the Assyrian kings were collected and published by Seux, *Épithètes*, but were arranged by vocabulary rather than king so that it is difficult to use for a study of a particular king. See the comments of Liverani, *ARINH* 225-252 and Garelli, *Akkadica* 27 (1982) 16-29. Cf. also Grayson, *UF* 3 (1971) 311-319.

93. Tadmor, *ARINH* 25-29.

94. The myth of the direct line of succession in Assyria is usually discussed in connection with the Assyrian King List; see Grayson, *OrNS* 49 (1980) 179 with notes for a description of the Assyrian King List and the relevant bibliography.

95. Tadmor, *ARINH* 27.

96. Tadmor notes (*ARINH* 26) that Sennacherib never mentions his father's name in any of his inscriptions. He interprets this as reflecting an "extreme expression of Sennacherib's antagonism toward his father's political-religious policies." It is also possible that Sennacherib was merely following the pattern of his father in his inscriptions or that the problem was that he could not satisfy the second part of the genealogy since he was not the grandson of Sargon's predecessor.

97. Liverani, *ARINH* 225-251.

98. Discussed above pp. 36-37.

99. K is too fragmentary at this point, but it is assumed that it also contained the same account of the Gyges episode as C.

100. Sometime around the mid-650's Gyges allied with Psamtik of Egypt; see Cogan and Tadmor, *OrNS* 46 (1977) 84 with A ii 114 (Streck, *Asb.* 22-23).

101. Cf. Tadmor, *HHI* 42-43 for brief summary of Tadmor's view of the Assyrian ideology of war.

102. Streck, *Asb.* 22-23: A ii 120-125.

103. Cogan and Tadmor, *OrNS* 46 (1977) 77.

104. Cogan and Tadmor, *OrNS* 46 (1977) 81. It is interesting to note, with Cogan and Tadmor, that the final account of the Lydian affair in IT, reduces the account in A to its barest elements and transfers the motif to an episode involving Tabal. For another discussion of the "ideology" behind this account see Gelio, *ARINH* 203-224.

105. Cogan, *HHI* 76-87.

106. Borger, *Asarh.* 10-29.

107. Cogan, *HHI* 82.

108. Cogan, *HHI* 84.

109. Tadmor, *HHI* 36-57.

110. Tadmor, *HHI* 45. There are several different dates preserved on

the various inscriptions that contain Esarhaddon's autobiographical apology, the earliest of which is in 673 (Borger, *Asarh.* 64). The vassal treaties were dated to 672 (Wiseman, *Vassal Treaties* 80).

111. Borger, *Asarh.*, Nin. A ii 40-64 (ep. 4).

112. Streck, *Asb.* XLVI, 252-271 (L⁴). Copy of a stele inscription on tablets.

113. Streck, *Asb.* 2-3: A i 2.

114. Streck, *Asb.* 84-87: A x 59.

115. Aynard, *Prisme* 28-29, 52-55: F i 3-4, v 9-23. Tadmor refers to this "old prophecy" as a type of "cultic apology" and considers it to be rooted in the destruction of Elam's sacred city, Susa, the previous year. See discussion below pp. 243-245.

116. See also the comments of Liverani, *ARINH* 225-227.

117. The studies cited here have been, in some cases radically, simplified. They actually contribute much more information to the study of Assyrian royal inscriptions than has been indicated here. There are also many other studies on these and other relevant topics which will be cited in other chapters as they apply.

118. For definitions of the terms prism and cylinder see Ellis, *Foundation Deposits* 108-109 with figure 30.

119. Museum number K.1828 (3R, 29, Nr.2 and G. Smith, *History of Ashurbanipal* 34-35) and K.1821 (G. Smith, *History of Ashurbanipal* 76-77).

120. Streck, *Asb.* XXXI, 154-157.

121. Bauer, *IWA* 27, pl. 17.

122. A 7920 and A 7919 in *AS* 5 8-17.

123. Millard, *Iraq* 30 (1968) 98-102 and pls. 19-20. Millard lists all fragments identified as E, but edits only selected portions. Thompson, *Iraq* 7 (1940), nos. 20, 21, 23.

124. Cogan and Tadmor, *OrNS* 46 (1977) 65-85. The two sub-editions are as follows:

^E ₁	K.1821	Bauer, <i>IWA</i> 27, pl. 17; <i>AS</i> 5 9
	A 7920	<i>AS</i> 5 9
	BM 127940	Millard, <i>Iraq</i> 30 (1968), pl. XIX
	BM 128305+134481	Millard, <i>Iraq</i> 30 (1968), pls. XIX, XX
^E ₂	BM 127923	Millard, <i>Iraq</i> 30 (1968), pl. XX

BM 134454	Millard, <i>Iraq</i> 30 (1968), pl. XX
BM 134455	Thompson, <i>Iraq</i> 7 (1940), no. 23
BM 128306+134445	Millard, <i>Iraq</i> 30 (1968), pl. XX and Thompson, <i>Iraq</i> 7 (1940), no. 20
BM 121018	Thompson, <i>Iraq</i> 7 (1940), no. 21
BM 128230	Millard, <i>Iraq</i> 30 (1968), pl. XIX
K.1828	Bauer, <i>IWA</i> 27, pl. 17; <i>AS</i> 5 9
A 7919	<i>AS</i> 5 9

125. I do not believe the term sub-edition is appropriate in the case of edition E_{1-2} ; I would prefer to consider E_1 and E_2 separate editions. However since edition E_{1-2} does not contain any Elamite campaigns, I have retained Cogan and Tadmor's terminology.

126. The contents of E_1 and E_2 as reconstructed by Cogan and Tadmor are as follows:

col.	E_1	E_2
i	Introduction	Introduction
ii		End of the introduction and beginning of Egyptian affairs
iii	Egyptian affairs	Egyptian affairs
iv	Conclusion of campaign against Kirbit; episode beginning <i>anāku</i> ,	Egyptian affairs; start of campaign against Kirbit "I..."
v	Lydian affairs	Conclusion of Kirbit; Lydian affairs
vi	Building dedication	Lydian affairs; building dedication

127. E ends the second Egyptian campaign with the reinstallation of Necho as king in Sais.

128. Millard, *Iraq* 30 (1968) 102.

129. Editions B, D, K, C, F, and A number the campaigns by *girru*, see above discussion pp. 26ff and Figure 8.

130. The usual geographical order for the campaigns in Assurbanipal's annals is west, north, east, and south. E places the campaign against Kirbit (in the east) between that of Egypt and Lydia. Grayson suggests that this is because deportees from Egypt were sent to Kirbit (Grayson, *ZA* 70 [1980] 245).

131. Kirbit, the third campaign narrated in E , was actually the first of Assurbanipal's campaigns, dated by the Babylonian Chronicles to 668 (Grayson, *TCS* 5, *Chron.* 1 iv 37, *Chron.* 14:38).

132. Cogan and Tadmor, *OrNS* 46 (1977) 81-82.

133. Streck, *Asb.* XXXII-XXXIII, 158-174 as pointed out by Bauer (*IWA* 33 n.2), K.228+ does not join K.2676 but is a copy of the same text. Olmstead refers to HT as F (Olmstead, *Assyrian Historiography* 54).

134. *AS* 5 8 n. 2.

135. HT begins with the line *šarrāni šit ^dšamasš u ereb šamši illikūnima unassiqū ŠēpIya*, "the kings of the rising and setting sun come to me and (kiss my feet) submit to me" (Streck, *Asb.* 158-159).

136. See discussion in Tadmor, *ARINH* 21-25 for a possible explanation for this.

137. K.1732 + Sm. 1712: Winckler, *SKT* 3 38-48.

138. 3R, pls. 27, 29, and 30-34.

139. Winckler, *SKT* 3, pls. 38-78.

140. Streck, *Asb.* XXI-XXVII, 92-139.

141. *AS* 5 19-93.

142. Bauer, *IWA* 8-12.

143. Thompson, *Iraq* 7 (1940) 85-111, figs. 1-16; Lambert and Millard, Catalogue.

144. *AS* 5 94.

145. Cogan, *JCS* 29 (1977) 98.

146. Assurbanipal usually considered Babylonian and Elamite campaigns together, cf. editions C, K, and A in Figure 8.

147. Cogan and Tadmor (*OrNS* 50 [1981] 237) refer to this as the "topos of abundance."

148. *RIA* 2 428 (C^a3).

149. *RIA* 2 428 n. 6.

150. Cogan, *JCS* 32 (1980) 149.

151. Cogan, *JCS* 32 (1980) 149.

152. 3R, pls. 27, 92-108 and G. Smith, *History of Ashurbanipal* 317-319.

153. Streck, *Asb.* XXX-XXXI, 152-155.

154. Bauer, *IWA* 24-26.

155. *AS* 5 95-99.

156. Millard, *Iraq* 30 (1968) 102-105.

157. Cogan, *JCS* 32 (1980) 148.

158. Cogan, *JCS* 32 (1980) 147-148.

159. Above p. 57 n. 150.

160. *AS* 5 95.

161. Winckler, *SKT* 3 76-78, 79.

162. Bauer, *IWA* 8 and n. 4, 28. Bauer designated this edition G but the designation was changed to K by Piepkorn (*AS* 5 101 n. 1) to avoid confusion with Olmstead's G which designated a different text (Olmstead, *Assyrian Historiography* 55 and above n. 49).

163. Streck, *Asb.* XXXIV, 174-177 with n. k on p. 174 (col. iv only).

164. *AS* 5 101-103.

165. Cogan and Tadmor, *OrNS* 50 (1981) 231-234 and Tadmor, *Proceedings* 240. A 8011 and A 8111 remain unpublished; a catalogue of the Assurbanipal fragments from Chicago is expected from Cogan and Tadmor in the future (Cogan, *JCS* 29 [1977] 103 n. 27). The third fragment, BM 134436 was published by Thompson (*Iraq* 7 [1940], no. 34) and re-edited by Cogan and Tadmor in *OrNS* 50 (1981) 231-234.

166. See discussion pp. 181ff. and Figure 8.

167. The following reconstruction is based on the work of Cogan and Tadmor in *OrNS* 50 (1981) 238:

Col.	Tablet	Content
i	A 8011	Introduction
ii	A 8011	Egyptian campaign
iii		
iv		
v	K.1703	Campaign against Urtak of Elam
vi	K.1703	Campaign against Te-umman of Elam
vii	K.1703	Campaign against Gambulu; Rusa embassy
viii	K.1703	Campaign against Indabibi of Elam; fall of Babylon
	BM 134436	
ix	A 8111	Campaign against the Arabs; Bit-Imbi
	BM 134436	
x	A 8111	Conclusion of Elamite affairs; building inscription

168. Cogan and Tadmor, *OrNS* 50 (1981) 230 n. 7; Cogan, *JCS* 32 (1980) 148-149 and n. 10 (read BM 134464 for BM 134467).

169. See above p. 57. Cogan and Tadmor, *OrNS* 50 (1981) 237.

170. Cogan and Tadmor, *OrNS* 50 (1981) 238.

171. See below pp. 158ff. and Figure 8.

172. Cogan and Tadmor (*OrNS* 50 [1980] 236 n. 17 and 238) suggest the building inscription commemorates the *dūr qabal āli* of Nineveh as does the building inscription of D.

173. *AS* 5 101.

174. K's introduction is preserved on A 8011 (unpublished); cf. Cogan and Tadmor, *OrNS* 50 (1981) 237.

175. Tadmor, *Proceedings* 240 and correction in Cogan and Tadmor, *OrNS* 50 (1981) 238-240 n. 24.

176. 3R, pl. 27.

177. Streck, *Asb. XXVII-XXX*, 138-153.

178. Bauer, *IWA* 13-24, pls. 5-13.

179. *AS* 5 4.

180. Piepkorn lists P6 among his notes to edition B (*AS* 5 45). P6 is published as PA 3 in Freedman, *St. Louis Tablets*, no. 36.

181. Knudsen, *Iraq* 29 (1967) 49-63 with the comments of Cogan and Tadmor in *OrNS* 50 (1981) 235-237.

182. Wiseman, *Iraq* 13 (1951) 21-26, pl. XII.

183. Millard, *Iraq* 30 (1968) 105, pls. XXII-XXIII.

184. Freedman, *St. Louis Tablets* 51-131.

185. Freedman, *St. Louis Tablets* 51-52.

186. Since Freedman's publication, one of the texts he used has been shown to belong to edition K (text P). Cf. Cogan and Tadmor, *OrNS* 50 (1981) 231.

187. Cogan and Tadmor, *OrNS* 50 (1981) 237.

188. [] indicates that the number is broken away in the edition.

189. Above p. 63 and Figure 8.

190. Above p. 61 and n. 170.

191. Cogan and Tadmor, *OrNS* 50 (1981) 236 n. 17.

192. Below pp. 68-69.

193. Tadmor and Cogan, *OrNS* (1981) 230-240 and n. 24.

194. Scheil, *Prisme S* 43-44, pls. 6-12.

195. Streck, *Asb.* CDLXXXI, 834-35.

196. Scheil, *Prisme S*, pl. 6, frag. a, lines 1-4; cf. Streck, *Asb.* 834-835.

197. Prism F omits the 1st campaign to Egypt and the 3rd to Kirbit moving all subsequent campaigns back 2 numbers. Cf. Figure. 8.

198. Bauer, *IMA* 3-8.

199. Weidner, *AfO* 13 (1939-1941) 207-210, pls. XI-XVI.

200. Bauer considered A^A to be a provincial redaction of A. This he felt would explain the odd spellings for some of the words (Bauer, *IMA* 7). Weidner agreed with the idea that the text was provincial in origin (but not that it was a redaction of A, see below) and assigned the origin of Bauer's A^A to Assur (Weidner, *AfO* 13 [1939-1941] 210).

201. *AS* 5 1 n. 1, 19 n. 1 and footnotes to edition B, pp. 29-93.

202. *AS* 5 1 n. 2.

203. *AS* 5 19 n. 1.

204. Aynard, *Prisme*.

205. Aynard, *Prisme* 12 n. 1.

206. *AS* 5 3 n. 12 now in the St. Louis Museum, see above n. 203.

207. Borger, *BiOr* (1959) 137-139; Von Soden, *OLZ* (1959) 482.

208. Lambert and Millard, *Catalogue*.

209. Freedman, *St. Louis Tablets* 132-136, nos. 37-43. Freedman lists only the variants to Aynard's publication rather than publishing copies and transliterations.

210. Designated by the siglum P; cf. *AS* 5 3 n. 12.

211. Above n. 157.

212. Cogan, *JCS* 29 (1977) 97-107; *JCS* 35 (1984) 146.

213. These sub-editions are not to be confused with Piepkorn's similarly labeled sub-editions.

214. See Cogan, *JCS* 29 (1977) 97.

215. Cogan, *JCS* 29 (1977) 97.

216. All significant variants which define Cogan's sub-editions F occur in the new material, either the final Elamite campaign (Elam²⁻⁷) or in the introduction. All other campaigns are faithfully copied from previous editions; see Cogan, *JCS* 29 (1977) 101.

217. Tadmor, *HHI* 48-52.

218. The first two sections of the introduction are each introduced by the word *anāku*, "I" (Aynard, *Prisme* 30-31: F i 1, 25). The third section closes with the word *anāku*.

219. The various manuscripts of F bear dates in the second and third months of the eponym year of Nabu-shar-ahheshu; Aynard, *Prisme* 12 and nts. 2 and 3.

220. *ADD*, Nr. 927 (K. 4773); *AS* 5 19 n. 1.

221. Chapter Three, pp. 175ff.

222. For an alternative date of 645 see Frame, *Babylonia* 177 n. 1.

223. Thompson, *PEA* 29-36, pls. 14-18 (TH 1929-10-12,2).

224. Bauer, *IWA* 28-29. *AS* 5 4-6, n. 17. Borger, *Asarh.* 66 n. 1. Millard, *Iraq* 30 (1968) 105-106. Cogan, *JCS* 30 (1978) 176.

225. Above p. 28.

226. Thompson, *PEA* 29ff.: T i 1-iv 36.

227. Above pp. 61-62 and n. 168.

228. Elam 5's list of conquered cities is omitted, only the summary statement remains. The elaborate description of the sack of Susa is also omitted.

229. See above pp. 68-69.

230. These two exemplars are conventionally called cylinders but are in fact prisms; see above p. 50.

231. See Ellis, *Foundation Deposits* 111.

232. Ellis, *Foundation Deposits* 111.

233. 3R, pls. 17-26.

234. 5R, pls. 1-10.

235. Winckler, *SKT* 3, pls. 1-37.

236. R.J. Lau and S. Langdon, *The Annals of Ashurbanipal* ([Semitic Studies Series 2] Leiden: 1903) with an introduction, notes, and complete glossary.

237. Streck, *Asb.* XVII-XXI, 2-91.

238. Thompson, *Iraq* 7 (1940) 85-111. Largely duplicates with some variants.

239. Lambert and Millard, Catalogue lists more than 50 additional fragments belonging to A.

240. See discussion pp. 29ff. and n. 46.

241. Most variants are orthographic or variant spellings. In addition, A routinely adds a full string of god names in place of the collective *ilāni* or in addition to a single god name, cf. Tadmor, *HHI* 51. F i 1-29 = A i 1-34; F i 30-32 is omitted in A which substitutes A i 35-38 (Aynard, *Prisme* 28-31; Streck, *Asb.* 2-7).

242. Streck, *Asb.* 6-7: A i 42-52.

243. See discussion pp. 45ff.

244. See now Tadmor, *Proceedings* 240; contra Falkner, *AfO* 17 (1954-1956) 118.

245. Nassouhi, *AfK* 2 (1924-1925) 97-105. Excavated at Babylon by R. Koldewey, currently housed in the Istanbul Museum (inventory number 7832, Babyl. 31663). Cf. Ellis, *Foundation Deposits* 12.

246. Weidner, *AfO* 7 (1931-1932) 1-7.

247. Most of the new pieces of H were published or identified by Millard in *Iraq* 30 (1968) 106ff. H fragments:

Tablet	Publication	Script
BM 123410	Millard, <i>Iraq</i> 30 106, pl. 24	cols. i, vii, viii NA
BM 123425	Millard, <i>Iraq</i> 30 108, pl. 23	cols. ii, iii NA
BM 127943	Millard, <i>Iraq</i> 30 109, pl. 26	col. vi (cf. Cogan, <i>JCS</i> 29 [1977] 100 =edition F)
BM 127994	Millard, <i>Iraq</i> 30 109, pl. 24	col. v? NB
BM 121027	Thompson, <i>Iraq</i> 7 no. 35 Tadmor, <i>Proceedings</i> 240	
83-1-18,600	Bauer, <i>IWA</i> 31, pl. 62 <i>Iraq</i> 106-7	cols. i,ii
H ₁	Nassouhi, <i>AfK</i> 2 97-105	cols. ii, iii, iv, viii NB
H ₂	Weidner, <i>AfO</i> 7 1-7	cols. vii, viii NB
MAH 16514	<i>JCS</i> 11 62	col. iv NB

A 8105 Borger, *AfO* 19 153
 unpublished cf. (Tadmor, *Proceedings* 240;
 Piepkorn, *AS* 5 4 n. 16) NB

Barrel Cylinders: BM 122616 + BM 127966, BM 122613; see Millard,
Iraq 30 111, pls. 28-27.

248. Millard, *Iraq* 30 (1967) 111 and n. 53 and Falkner, *AfO* 17 (1954-1956) 118.

249. Thompson, *AAA* 20 (1933) 79-109, pls. LXXX-XCVII.

250. IT's military narration is considerably shorter than H's. Only 7 lines (albeit long lines, the width of each column was 5 and 1/2 feet). Its narrative contains no new information regarding the Elamite campaigns and is only rarely referred to in this discussion.

251. Streck, *Asb.* 158-227, 304-375; Bauer, *IWA* 29-37, 55-79.

252. These usually involve single line variants; see, for example, below pp. 129-130.

253. There are a number of compositions composed around the theme of the rescue of Nanaya, some are very literary, at least one suggests that the reason for a campaign against Elam was solely to rescue the statue of the goddess; below p. 205 n. 162.

254. Weippert, *WU* 7 (1973-1974) 74ff. and Bauer, *IWA* 83-84.

255. Parpola, *ARINH* 118.

256. Harper, *ABL*.

257. Waterman, *Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian Empire* (University of Michigan Studies XVII-XX, Ann Arbor, 1930).

258. *CT* 54, by Parpola, contains autograph copies of Neo-Assyrian period letters in the Neo-Assyrian dialect. *CT* 55, by Dietrich, contains autograph copies of Neo-Assyrian period letters in the Neo-Babylonian dialect.

259. Parpola, *ARINH* 122.

260. Grayson, *TCS* 5, Chron. 1-7 and discussion pp. 14-22.

261. Grayson, *TCS* 5, Esarhaddon Chron. = Chron 14, Akitu Chron. = Chron. 16. See Grayson's comments pp. 30-32 and 35-36.

262. A summary of the excavations can be found in Barnett, *Sculptures* 3-27 and a fuller account in Gadd, *SA*.

263. The building is dated by the discovery of a clay prism buried in

the wall of room I which contained the annals of Assurbanipal, edition A, dated to 643 (above pp. 71-72). The presence of uncarved limestone slabs in 6 (N, O, P, Q, T, V) of the rooms may indicate that the palace was never completed. See Reade, *BaM* 10 (1979) 105.

264. Güterbock, *AJA* 61 (1957) 62-71. Reade, *BaM* 10 (1979) 52-110. Winter, *Studies in Visual Communication* 7 (1981) 2-38. Russell, *Palace without Rival*.

265. There are two altars of Tukulti-Ninurta published in Andre, *Das weiderstandene Assur*, Taf. 49b, 51 and Reade, *BaM* 10 (1979) 53.

266. Assurnasirpal II: White Obelisk: Sollberger, *Iraq* 36 (1974) 231-238. Rassam Obelisk: Reade, *Iraq* 42 (1980) 1-22. Bronze gate-bands: R.D. Barnett, *Symbolae Biblicae et Mesopotamicae F.M.T. de Liagre Böhl Dedicatae* 19-22.

Shalmaneser III: Black Obelisk: Michel, *WO* 2 (1955) 140-143. Bronze gate bands: Michel, *WO* 4 (1967) 34-37.

267. Grayson, *ARI* 2 164 (CI.13).

268. Winter, *Studies in Visual Communication* 7 (1981) 2-38 and *Essays in Honor of Charles K. Wilkinson* 15-32. See also Reade, *BaM* 10 (1979) 57-64.

269. Reade, *BaM* 10 (1979) 72-78. The sculptures from Tiglath-pileser's palaces are published in Barnett and Falkner, *Sculptures*.

270. These bands of inscription contain the annals of Tiglath-pileser III and unlike Assurnasirpal's summary inscriptions are not repeated in entirety on each slab, but rather continue from slab to slab. Schramm, *EAK* 2 137 (g).

271. Reade, *BaM* 10 (1979) 78-86 and Abb. 6. For Sargon's reliefs see Botta, I-II and Loud I.

272. For a study of Sennacherib's palace decoration see Russell, *Palace without Rival*. See also Reade, *BaM* 10 (1979) 86-95. Sennacherib's palace reliefs are published in Paterson, *PS*.

273. Court VI, room XLIII and court LXIV: see Russell, *Palace without Rival*: Catalog, pp. 360-370, 441-443, 480-481.

274. Used in non-military subject matter (transport of colossi in court VI); Russell, *Palace without Rival*, 362, figs. 26-30.

275. Winter, *Studies in Visual Communication* 7 (1981) 3.

276. Assurbanipal's reliefs are published in Barnett, *Sculptures*. See also Reade, *BaM* 10 (1979) 102-109.

277. Reade, *BaM* 10 (1979) 96-101 and Reade, *Iraq* 26 (1964) 6-7.

278. Barnett, *Sculptures* 41, pls. XXII-XXIII.

279. Perhaps the detail possible in the larger format of the wall relief was considered to render sufficient specificity to identify the subject matter while this was not possible on the smaller format of the bronze gate-bands and obelisks; Russell, *Palace without Rival*, 55-56.

280. There are only two epigraphs known to appear on plaques rather than directly inscribed on the reliefs. Bezold, *Janus* 1 (1921), Nr. 7 and Böhl, *AfO* 6 (1930-1931) 107-108; see Appendix A.

281. The epigraphs from Assurnasirpal's reign appear on the bronze gate bands from Balawat, and the White and Rassam obelisks. The epigraphs from Shalmaneser III's reign appear on the Black obelisk and the bronze gate bands from Balawat, see above n. 266.

282. There are only three epigraphs known from Tiglath-pileser III's reliefs, see Barnett and Falkner, *Sculptures*, xix, 41, pls. XXXVIII, LXII and LXIX.

283. Sargon's epigraphs were studied by El-Amin, *Sumer* 9 (1953) 35-59, 214-228 and *Sumer* 10 (1954) 23-42. Reade, *JNES* 35 (1976) 95-104. Sargon's room XIV also contains a long epigraph, see El-Amin, *Sumer* 9 (1953) 215-224.

284. Sennacherib's epigraphs are listed in the catalogue to Russell, *Palace without Rival* 327-498.

285. Above p. 84.

286. For the epigraphs from court VI, see Russell, *Palace without Rival* 366-367.

287. Russell, *Palace without Rival* 58-59.

288. Russell, *Palace without Rival* 59,74.

289. From the North palace, rooms M and S¹, see Appendix A.

290. This also takes place in the royal inscriptions of the kings Sennacherib and Assurbanipal: Sennacherib's royal inscriptions begin with his name followed by his titles. Assurbanipal's inscriptions begin with: *anāku* Assurbanipal, "I, Assurbanipal." The use of *anāku* before the personal name of the king at the beginning of an inscription is sporadically used in Esarhaddon's inscriptions; cf. Borger, *Asarh. Ass. E* (p.8), *Ass. F* (p. 9), K.2388 (p. 92), 80-7-19, 44 (p. 119).

The clear distinction in form between *anāku* epigraphs and descriptive epigraphs evident on the historical reliefs does not hold for the epigraphs on the hunting reliefs where the form of the descriptive epigraph continues to include the king's name and titles, as it did at the time of Sennacherib, but it begins with *anāku*.

291. See the epigraphs of Sennacherib's Southwest palace, court VI (Russell, *Palace without Rival*, 366-367) and room 33, redecorated by Assurbanipal (Appendix A).

292. Quotations appear in four of the epigraphs from reliefs (Appendix A: rooms I, S¹, 33 and one known only from Loftus' notebook). One other is known from a tablet (Weidner, *AfO* 8 [1932-1933] 180-181, Nr. 10). Quotation also appears in Assurbanipal's annals and will be discussed in a separate study.

293. Reade, *BaM* 10 (1979) 52-110; Winter, *Studies in Visual Communication* 7 (1981) 25; and Russell, *Palace without Rival* 54-75.

294. The terminology employed here comes from Barthes, *Image Music Text* 28-40.

295. Russell, *Palace without Rival* 62.

296. Information provided by a text in association with an image may be parallel, that is, the information is the same in both media. Or the text may provide additional information and thus amplify the message of the image. Cf. Winter, *Studies in Visual Communication* 7 (1981) 25.

297. 3R, pl. 4 no. 4 republished in *JRAS* (1891) 148-154 and *OIP* 2 156. This tablet records six epigraphs, none of which are known to appear on the reliefs (Contra Russell, *Palace without Rival*, Chapt. 1, n. 159). The epigraph on the relief consists of a single city name, Bit-Kubatti. The epigraph that appears on the tablet is of the descriptive type). Two (*OIP* 2 156:11-13, 14-17) of the epigraphs recorded here resemble those of Assurbanipal rather than Sennacherib.

298. Weidner, *AfO* 8 (1932-1933) 175-203; note the corrections to n. 9 in Reade, *BaM* 10 (1979) 96 n. 92.

299. Weidner, *AfO* 8 (1932-1933) 186-191.

300. One of the colophons (Weidner, *AfO* 8 [1932-1933] 200-201) from a cycle 2 tablet reads ša ina eli igařati ša bit-redūti [] bit-sar šūti "That which (is) on the walls of the Bit-reduti....bit-sar šūti. The Bit-reduti is presumed to be the North palace or a suite of rooms in the North palace. Barnett, however, considers the Southwest palace to be the Bit-reduti (*Sculptures* 5 and n. 9) on the basis of Assurbanipal's redecoration of at least one room, room 33. This is unlikely since it would be difficult to explain why edition A of Assurbanipal's annals which commemorates the rebuilding of the Bit-reduti was buried in the wall of room I of the North palace if indeed the North palace is not the Bit-reduti. Similarly it would also be difficult to explain why Assurbanipal failed to commemorate the building of such a huge project as a palace.

301. The only colophon preserved on a tablet from the first cycle reads: *gabru 𒂓 le'i 𒊩 ̄ ina 𒈗 mahar 𒊩arri 𒊩ašmūni*, "copy of a writing board which was read before the king" (Weidner, *AfO* 8 [1932-1933] 186-187).

302. Weidner, *AfO* 8 (1932-1933) 176 and n. 4.

303. K.2674+ obv. i 12-13: Weidner, *AfO* 8 (1932-1933) 178-179, Nr. 3.

304. Other types of variants include the omission of words and phrases, the metathesis of words or phrases and in one case, the variants are significant; see Appendix A: Plaques.

305. Appendix A: Room 33 slab 3b.

306. Appendix A: Room I slab 1.

307. Reade, *BaM* 10 (1979) 100.

308. Weidner, *AfG* 6 (1932-1933) 176 nts. 6 and 7.

309. Weidner, *AfO* 8 (1932-1933), Nrs. 15 and 28.

310. Appendix A: Room 33 slab 4.

311. Weidner, *AfO* 8 (1932-1933), Nrs. 2 and 3.

312. This is clear in the second cycle where there are epigraphs recorded which deal with the activities of Shamash-shum-ukin, Tammaritu, and the Arabs (Weidner, *AfO* 8 [1932-1933] 191-203).

313. Weidner, *AfO* 8 (1932-1933), Nr. 20.

314. Summary statements common in written military narrative such as "20 cities great and small ... I conquered" cannot be conveyed in a visual medium. Thus individual cities which either do not appear in the written narrative or were merely named as one of many may become prominent in a visual narrative; cf. Russell, *Palace without Rival* 67-70.

CHAPTER THREE: THE ELAMITE CAMPAIGNS OF ASSURBANIPAL

Introduction

Chapter Three presents the Elamite military campaigns of Assurbanipal which are recorded in five *girru* accounts. The chapter is divided into five *girru* sections and numbered accordingly. The discussion of each *girru* section is presented under three headings: The Content of the *Girru* Accounts; the Date of the Campaign; and General Discussion.

"Content of the *Girru* Accounts" will describe the content of each of the annals or summary inscriptions that includes an account of the *girru*. They are described in chronological order with special attention given to differences in, or changes between, the editions of the annals or summary inscriptions.

"Date of the Campaign" will present the evidence and arguments for dating the campaign itself and its associated episodes.

"General Discussion" will look at the episodes narrated in each *girru* account in terms of contemporary events and in light of other available evidence, including the royal correspondence, the Babylonian Chronicles, and other inscriptional evidence.

In addition, a fourth heading "The Organization of the Narrative," appears in three of the five *girru* sections: Elam 3, Elam 4, and Elam 5. It will consider special elements in the construction of those *girru* accounts and the development of the account from one edition to another.

These four headings are not always presented in the same order in the following five *girru* sections. The order is determined by the logic of the various arguments.

It is important to keep in mind that each individual *girru* account is a complete and coherent narrative in itself. Each begins with an abstract, a statement summarizing the content of the forthcoming *girru* narrative. The abstract typically includes the target of the campaign and the reasons for undertaking the campaign. The motives for undertaking the campaign are typically presented as evaluative clauses, for example, "PN, who rebelled." Following the abstract or sometimes contained within the abstract is an orientation section. This section usually contains an account of the events leading up to the events about to be narrated, thus providing the background to the campaign. The orientation can be substantial or can be limited to a few lines. Orienting elements can also be found in other sections of the narrative. The body of the narrative describes the main events of the campaign and concludes with a coda. The coda signals the closure of the narration of events which pertain directly to the subject of the *girru* account as defined by the abstract. Typically the coda returns the reader to Assyria: "The booty of that city I removed to Assyria." The coda may also contain additional information that serves as bridge to the next *girru*.

ELAM 1: The Campaign Against Urtak

The first of Assurbanipal's campaigns against the Elamites was recorded in four of his editions of the annals and in one summary inscription. The earliest recension was composed for edition B; it was recopied virtually verbatim in the succeeding three editions D, K, and C. The account of the first *girru* is omitted in the subsequent editions F and A, but reappears, in a second recension, in the later summary inscription H.

Editions B, D, and C list Elam 1 as the sixth *girru*. The *girru* number is not preserved in edition K and the summary inscription H does not number the campaigns.

Content of the *Girru* Accounts

The campaign account in editions B and D begins with an opening statement characteristic of the Elamite *girru* accounts. It takes the form of an abstract which summarizes the forthcoming narrative and identifies the campaign objective: in the case of Elam 1, Urtak,¹ king of Elam. The abstracts usually include evaluative clauses, often in the form of epithets, that describe the anti-Assyrian activites which provoked the campaign and hence provide the motive for that campaign. For Elam 1, the abstract includes two subordinate clauses which describe and evaluate the actions of Urtak (B iv 18-20):²

In my 6th campaign, I marched against Urtak, king of Elam, who did not heed the treaty of (my) father, my sire, who did not guard the friendship.

The abstract is followed by a substantial orientation section that provides some background to the campaign. It recounts an incident, concerning a famine, which occurred at some unspecified time in the past. At that time, Assurbanipal sent grain to, and accepted refugees from Elam. He allowed those refugees to settle in Assyria until there was a good harvest in Elam, at which time he returned the refugees to Elam. Against this background Assurbanipal relates Urtak's rebellion. Assurbanipal claims that Urtak's defection was instigated by three others: Bel-iqisha, sheikh of the Gambulu tribe; Nabu-shumeresh, the governor of Nippur; and Marduk-shum-ibni, one of Urtak's officials.

News of Urtak's march into Babylonia was brought to Assurbanipal in Nineveh by a messenger. Assurbanipal then sent another messenger to Babylonia to verify the reports and learned that Urtak was encamped outside Babylon itself. The account of the Assyrian response is very brief and of a standard type. Urtak hears of the advance of Assyrian troops and flees. Assurbanipal pursues Urtak defeating him near the border of his land.

The remainder of the account relates events which followed the campaign. Urtak and his three allies all met their fate in the same year: Urtak died from unknown causes, Bel-iqisha from the "bite of a mouse," Nabu-shum-eresh from *agallatilla* (dropsy), and Marduk-shum-ibni was "punished by the god, Marduk."

The account closes with a coda which sets the stage for the next campaign against Elam, also narrated in edition B: Assur and Ishtar removed Urtak's dynasty from the throne in Elam and gave the throne to

another. This is immediately followed by the statement that Te-Umman³ took Urtak's throne in Elam. The sons of Humban-haltash II, ruler of Elam prior to Urtak, and the sons of Urtak fled from Elam to the protection of Assyria.

This account is preserved in each of editions D, K, and C, and is at least partially repeated in a few commemorative inscriptions.⁴ The summary inscription H, however, composed some years later (639), alters the account significantly.

Like all summary inscriptions, H does not number its campaigns. It begins this account with Urtak's name, title, and two evaluative statements (H₁ ii 10-12):⁵

Urtak, king of Elam, my treaty friend, I did not abandon.
With him, there was a treaty and good relations.

The opening of H's account is not an abstract, it does not summarize the main concern of the campaign. Furthermore, the two evaluative statements are positive evaluations. They give no indication of the motive for the campaign. The opening statement in H is an orientation rather than an abstract. It presents the political situation prior to the events which make up the campaign.⁶

The content and arrangement of H's account parallels that of the annals. The episode of the famine in Elam follows the "opening statement." In the annals, this episode consisted of four elements (1) there is a famine in Elam, (2) Assurbanipal sends grain, (3) Assurbanipal receives and settles Elamite refugees, and (4) Assurbanipal returns the refugees when there is a good harvest in Elam. H, however,

includes only elements 1-3, excluding the return of the refugees.⁷

The account in the annals that introduces the four protagonists and explains how Assurbanipal learns of the rebellion is summarized in H with the phrase: *bīrušnu ušabš[ū sīhu]*, "among them they instigated rebellion." The antecedent, however, is the refugees who were settled in Assyria (H₁ ii 16-19):

His people, who fled from hunger (and) famine to me, settled in my land. Among them they instig[ed rebellion]. I saved their lives, [I help]ed them.

This creates the impression that the rebellion was internal and the following section that identifies Urtak as the objective of the campaign makes little sense.

H continues with an account of the campaign proper which is identical to the account found in the annals. At this point, the available exemplars of H break off.

The account of Elam 1 preserved in the annals places the emphasis on the prelude to the campaign and on the aftermath rather than on the campaign itself. H, on the other hand, by abbreviating the beginning of the account, shifts the emphasis to a more equal balance between prelude and campaign; its treatment of the aftermath is unknown. The account in H is not merely copied and abbreviated from the annals accounts; the entire beginning was rewritten for H or at least was copied from a source other than the known editions of the annals.

The characterization of Urtak in both recensions of this *girru* is unusual for an enemy of Assyria. In the first recension (B, D, K, and C), the abstract evaluates or characterizes Urtak in a standard manner:

"who did not heed the treaty of my father, my sire; who did not guard the friendship." The second of these two clauses is repeated again later in the *girru* account. The two subordinate clauses that evaluate the actions of Urtak belong to the standard Assyrian repertoire of enemy characterizations. Far more interesting are the descriptions which appear further along in the narrative, specifically in the section which describes the participants in the revolt (B iv 27-28): "The Elamite whose rebellion I did not ponder; of whose quarrel I was not aware" and a few lines later (B iv 33-39): "Toward whom I was not hostile ... these words of the rebellion of Urtak which I did not take seriously."⁸ Rather than using the direct accusational style usually found in Assyrian royal inscriptions,⁹ the text emphasizes the disappointment of Assurbanipal's expectations. If the evaluations in the abstract of B are compared with those in the body of the narrative, it can clearly be seen that their meaning is identical, but the attitude is entirely different:

B abstract	B narrative
Who did not heed the treaty	Whose rebellion I did not ponder
Who did not guard the friendship	Of whose quarrel I was not aware

Compare this with the characterization in H which replaces the negative characterization of the annals' abstract with positive evaluations of Urtak (H₁ ii 10-12): "My treaty friend I did not abandon, with him there was a treaty and good relations." Only once does a negative characterization appear (H: MAH 16514 col. b 11):¹⁰ "[He did not] guard the friend[ship]." The characterization of Urtak in both recensions is fairly mild compared with that of some of his successors.

Additional commentary on the Assyrian evaluation of Urtak is included in B's account. Describing the events leading to the revolt, the annals state that Urtak was provoked by the three other rebels (B iv 28-32), "They elicited his support (lit. They asserted his word with them), to battle Sumer and Akkad they incited Urtak with lies," and also (B iv 64-65), "Marduk-shum-ibni, his eunuch who misled him, who brought evil upon Urtak...."

H omits any reference to the other individuals involved in the rebellion but maintains the same, rather mild, attitude toward Urtak. The statement that replaces the notice of Urtak's co-conspirators in H seems more of a protest against Urtak's poor treatment of Assyria than an accusation of wrong-doing (H₁ ii 18-19): "Among them they instigat[ed rebellion]. I saved their lives, [I helped them]." Rather than emphasizing the evil of Urtak who rebelled against Assyria, both inscriptions seem to shift the blame from Urtak. The annals does this by accusing his co-conspirators of instigating Urtak, while the summary inscription H almost ignores Urtak's role altogether.¹¹

Date of the Campaign

The account of this *girru* as the Assyrian scribe delineates it consists of three separate parts: (1) orientation (= the famine), (2) the campaign, and (3) the fate of the rebels. The earliest account of this *girru* is recorded in edition B, securely dated to 648. This account was not included in the immediately preceding edition HT, composed at about 665/4. Thus, the campaign first recorded in B must have concluded between the years 665 and 648.¹² A closer investigation

of the other episodes in the account may help refine these dates.

The episode of Assurbanipal's aid to Elam during the famine is not very helpful. Famines are never recorded independently in the annals and there is no additional information about this famine, thus it could have occurred any time between the beginning of Assurbanipal's reign (669) and the beginning of Elam 1.

The final episode, the flight of the Elamite princes, is thought to be recorded in the Shamash-shum-ukin Chronicle:¹³

The fourth year of Shamash-shum-ukin: on the twelfth day of the month Tashritu (VII), the Elamite fled to Assyria.

Although the entry in the Chronicle refers to a single Elamite fugitive, it very likely refers to the same event. If so, then the events of the *girru* account are provided with a terminal date of VII/12/664.

It is not clear from the account whether or not the final events of the campaign, the death of the protagonists, or the flight of the Elamite princes upon Te-Uman's accession to the throne in Elam, all took place in the same year as the campaign.

Additional information on this matter may be provided by a slightly divergent account of this campaign which is preserved on a clay tablet inscribed with an annalistic text, Rm.281.¹⁴ The obverse of the tablet is fragmentary but states that Urtak invaded Babylonia while Assurbanipal was in Egypt and then goes on to recount the events which led to the second campaign to Egypt. This would appear to place Urtak's invasion of Babylonia during Assurbanipal's first Egyptian

campaign in 667. Such a situation would explain why there was a delay in responding to reports of Elamite activity in Babylonia, so close to the Assyrian heartland. If the main body of Assurbanipal's army was engaged in Egypt, there would be sufficient delay in the army's response to allow Urtak to reach Babylon itself.¹⁵ In addition, it might explain the boldness of Urtak's move; an Assyrian army some 70 days march from Babylonia is not very threatening.¹⁶

A date of 667 for Elam 1 poses a problem however.¹⁷ If in fact the campaign took place during or shortly after the Egyptian campaign in 667 and was concluded within one year including the deaths of the four protagonists, that is, 666 at the latest, it would be difficult to explain why the campaign was not included in the annals edition E or in the HT account both of which were composed after 666.¹⁸

The later date of 664 for this campaign is suggested by an unpublished economic text from Nippur which is dated to Assurbanipal in 29/V/664.¹⁹ Nippur traditionally fell within the jurisdiction of Babylonia, therefore the economic texts from Nippur should be dated to Shamash-shum-ukin, king of Babylon, rather than Assurbanipal. If, however, Nippur had revolted and Assyrian troops had occupied the city, there would be a period during which texts would be dated to Assurbanipal. If the dating of this text to Assurbanipal represents a period of Assyrian control after Nabu-shum-eresh's defection to Elam, then it would argue for a date early in 664 for Urtak's attack on Babylonia.²⁰

It should also be mentioned in this context that Rm.281 is a late text composed sometime after 647.²¹ The scribe may have confused

Assurbanipal's two Egyptian campaigns, especially since a date of 664 for Urtak's invasion would also have found the Assyrian army and/or Assurbanipal in Egypt.²²

General Discussion

Having established a date of 664 for the campaign and its associated episodes, a discussion of those events in the context of Assyro-Elamite relations can now be undertaken. At the time of Assurbanipal's ascent to the throne of Assyria, Elam was at peace with Assyria. Urtak succeeded his brother, Humban-haltash II, on the throne of Elam in 675²³ and concluded a peace treaty with Assurbanipal's father, Esarhaddon, in 674. The incident is described in the edition of Esarhaddon's annals designated Nin. A.²⁴ Though Urtak is not mentioned by name, Esarhaddon claims that "the Elamite" sued for peace. A similar claim is made by Esarhaddon regarding the Gambulian sheikh, Bel-iqisha.²⁵ What provoked Urtak and Gambulu to ally, at least temporarily, with Assyria cannot be determined with certainty, but several explanations can be offered.

With respect to Urtak, several scholars have commented that Urtak came to the Elamite throne through or with Assyrian support.²⁶ This assumption, however, has very little textual support. First, Esarhaddon makes no such claim, in contrast, for example, to Assurbanipal regarding the Elamite king, Ummanigash, some 20 years later.²⁷ And second, the Elamite principles of succession are not clear and it is impossible to determine whether or not Urtak was the legitimate ruler of Elam. It is equally impossible to determine from

the available evidence whether or not Urtak might have required Assyrian or other outside support to hold his throne.

A more plausible explanation of this alliance may be found in an examination of the actions of Te-Umman, called "brother of the king," in the royal correspondence.²⁸ Esarhaddon's reign was generally marked by very little trouble in the south; most of the campaigns were localized and conducted on a limited scale. Nevertheless, several letters that seem to date from the period 680-675 mention anti-Assyrian activities in the Sealand,²⁹ apparently directed by the Elamite army. These letters indicate that the residents of the Sealand were instructed to remove their Assyrian appointed governor, Na'id-Marduk, in favor of Elamite authority. "Te-Umman, brother of the king," is mentioned in one of these letters. Certainly this Te-Umman would have been considered a threat to Assyria and quite possibly may have challenged Urtak for the Elamite throne at the death of Humban-haltash II in 675.

The treaty relationship between Assyria and Elam may also have affected Gambulu's relations with Assyria. Gambulu, an Aramaean tribe located along the southern border between the Sealand and Elam, traditionally allied with Elam in their anti-Assyrian activities.³⁰ It is possible that its sheikh, Bel-iqisha, felt his interests were best served by an alliance with Assyria in a situation where Elam had also allied with Assyria and could not or would not support Gambulu. Quite possibly Esarhaddon's generous rebuilding in the south was profitable for Gambulu as several letters concerning Bel-iqisha may indicate.³¹

Things seem to have changed somewhat, however, at Assurbanipal's

accession in 669. Troubles along the eastern border manifested themselves immediately. Kirbit's raiding of Yamutbal and Der in 668 required the presence of Assyrian troops. The following years found Assyria heavily engaged in the western reaches of the empire with two campaigns against Egypt³² and several actions along the Syrian coast.³³ This commitment in the west may have provided an opportunity "too good to pass up" so that Urtak succumbed to the wishes of his allies, abandoned his "oaths," and attacked Babylonia. It is clear that there must have been some internal pressure for Urtak to rebel against Assyria from a letter dated sometime earlier in his reign:³⁴

Earlier when the overseer of the palace and the officials went down to the Kalkians, the brothers of the king of Elam lamented to the king their brother, inciting him thus: "We have set a camp; We shall pass over to the Kalkians and take them out of the hands of Assyria," the king of Elam did not sin, he did not listen to them. He was not favorable, saying, "I shall not neglect the oaths." He made them listen.

It is impossible to determine what made Urtak succumb to the pressure or what his objective may have been. The location of the main Assyrian army in Egypt would have provided Urtak a comfortable margin of some 70 days to maneuver in Babylonia, but it was nowhere near enough time to besiege the capital city, Babylon. On the two occasions when Babylon was besieged it took more than fifteen months to starve the city into submission.³⁵ Thus, in all probability, Urtak's attack on Babylon must have been intended only as a raid for booty or perhaps destabilization rather than as a real attempt at control of Babylonia.

Nippur's position in this affair is equally difficult to determine. There is some evidence that Nippur was not pleased with

Esarhaddon's rebuilding of Babylon, her regional rival. This, Brinkman has suggested, may be linked to the re-allocation of water and agricultural resources.³⁶ In addition, Nippur seems to have been isolated regionally by her loyalty to Assyria. This isolation apparently provoked some discontent among the residents of Nippur.³⁷ The discontent, evident in her association with Elam in this affair, seems to have persisted since Nippur sided with Shamash-shum-ukin in the rebellion against Assyria in 652-648.³⁸

The rather lengthy, though obscure, recitation of the fates of the four rebels³⁹ belies the absence of an account of Assyrian retribution. Assurbanipal does not record any action against the rebels, Bel-iqisa and Nabu-shum-eresh, though he may have taken direct control of Nippur.⁴⁰ No action was taken against Gambulu until some ten years later at the close of the next Elamite campaign in 653.⁴¹

Assyria's failure or inability to punish the rebels is probably to be explained by some other disturbance elsewhere in the empire that required Assyria's immediate attention, perhaps the campaign against Tyre, usually dated c. 662.⁴²

The final episode of the *girru* account is a bit confusing (B iv 69-75):

Assur..., (and) Ishtar..., his royal dynasty they removed.
The dominion of the land they gave to another; afterwards
Te-Umman, image of a *gallû* demon, sat on the throne of Urtak.

It is not at all clear whether this means that it was to Te-Umman that Assur and Ishtar gave the throne or whether it was given to another (unnamed person) from whom Te-Umman then took the throne.

Whatever the case, it is evident from the phrase, "image of a *gallû* demon," that Assurbanipal was immediately hostile to Te-Umman. This may be because of Te-Umman's earlier, anti-Assyrian activities (above p. 131) or it may be in anticipation of the next campaign, Elam 2 (a description of which is contained in the same editions), directed some 10 years later against Te-Umman. The fact that Assurbanipal, in 664, accepts under his protection members of the rebel Urtak's family, fugitives from the current king of Elam, also suggests an immediate antipathy toward Te-Umman.

The final episode concerning the flight of the Elamite princes to sanctuary in Assyria and Assurbanipal's acceptance of them is not unusual. Such alliances were common in Assyria's dealings with her vassals and client states. The practice has been outlined by Donner,⁴³ who shows that Assyria wherever possible preferred to replace rebellious governments with loyal native governors or local dynasts and even maintained various local princes and princesses at the Assyrian palace where they were educated in anticipation of a time when they might be sent to govern.⁴⁴

ELAM 2: The Campaign against Te-Umman

Assurbanipal's second campaign to Elam, Elam 2, is recorded in six editions of his annals (B, D, K, C, F, and A). There are two recensions. The earlier recension was first recorded in edition B and was repeated almost verbatim in editions D, K, and C. The second recension was composed for F and was repeated in A. This *girru* consists of two military actions, the campaign against Te-Umman of Elam, followed by the attack on the Gambulu that took place during Assurbanipal's return march to Assyria. These two events will be considered separately.

In each of the editions B, D, K, and C, Elam 2 follows directly on Elam 1; in B, it is listed as the seventh *girru* in the military narration.⁴⁵ Editions F and A, which do not include Elam 1 in their editions, place Elam 2 as the first of the *girru* against Elam.⁴⁶

Content of the Girru Accounts: the Campaign against Elam

Edition B begins the campaign in the traditional manner, "in my seventh campaign," followed by a short abstract identifying Te-Umman, king of Elam, as the target of the campaign. The abstract further states that Te-Umman sought the extradition of the fugitive Elamite princes through means of insolent messages (B iv 87-99):

In my seventh campaign, I marched against Te-Umman, king of Elam who--concerning Ummanigash, Ummanappa, Tammaritu, the sons of Urtak, king of Elam, (and) Kudurru (and) Paru sons of Ummanaldash (= Humban-haltash II) brother of Urtak, king of Elam--repeatedly sent his nobles for the extradition of those people who fled to me, who submitted

to me. I did not order their extradition because of the insolent messages that he continually sent, monthly, by the hand of Umbadara and Nabu-damiq. In Elam he boasted in front of his troops.

Assurbanipal, after repeating that he refused Te-Umman's request for extradition, accuses Te-Umman of "plotting evil," without specifying the nature of that evil. The account then describes an evil sign, a lunar eclipse which occurred in the month of Tammuz (IV). Caused by the moon-god, Sin, the lunar eclipse was interpreted as portending the end of Te-Umman's reign and the destruction of his land. It is then noted that Te-Umman was afflicted with a seizure, but apparently not incapacitated.

A very long and elaborate description (62 lines) follows, giving events leading up to the campaign itself. In the month of Abu (V), Assurbanipal was in Arba'ili, the holy city of Ishtar. He received a report that Te-Umman was raising troops to attack Assyria. This report quotes Te-Umman directly (B v 20-24):

They repeated to me the report: "Te-Umman, because Ishtar had confounded his reason, spoke thus, 'I shall not give up until I come and make war on him (Assurbanipal).'"

Upon receipt of this report Assurbanipal appealed to Ishtar, who spoke to him in a theophany and reassured him. This account of the theophany is followed by an account of a dream received that same night by a seer in Ishtar's temple. The message of that dream takes the form of a dialogue between Ishtar and Assurbanipal which explains and reinforces the message of the theophany and adds that Assurbanipal should remain in Arba'ili while Ishtar engages Te-Umman in battle.

The account of the campaign itself follows this elaborate introduction of eclipse, theophany, and dream. Assurbanipal claims that in the month of Ululu (VI) he called up his troops and entered Elam from the border city of Der. The beginning of this campaign account contains yet another theological element, a brief comment on the month name of Ululu (B v 77-79):

In the month of Ululu, (month) of the work of the goddesses, feast of exalted Assur, the month of Sin, illuminator of heaven and earth, I trusted in the omen of Nanna, the brilliant, and the message of Istar, my lady, which cannot be changed.

At that time Te-Umman was reportedly in the city of Bit-Imbi. Te-Umman, when he heard of the approach of the Assyrian troops, fell back to Susa and then advanced to the river Ulaya where he met Assurbanipal and his troops in a pitched battle. Te-Umman was killed in battle; his head was cut off and brought back to Assyria.

The coda of the account gives the information that Ummānigash (= Elamite, Humban-nikash II), son of Urtak, was installed on Te-Umman's throne and Tammaritu, Ummānigash's third brother, was installed on the throne in Hidalu. Following this is an account of the booty taken from the battlefield. The return to Assyria that usually signals the coda to the *girru* narratives, is conspicuously missing (B vi 10-16):

Chariots, wagons, horses, mules, ... which my hands conquered, at the command of Assur and the great gods my lords, joyfully, I brought out from Elam. All my troops are safe.

The second recension, found in editions F and A, is severely abbreviated. The abstract identifies Elam, rather than Te-Umman, as

the objective of the campaign. All references to the previous *girru* and the refugee princes were omitted from the abstract of the account. The justification given for the campaign is the command of the gods. The elaborate account of the eclipse, the theophany, and the dream message are also omitted. But curiously, a variation of the theological commentary on the month name of Ululu, which occurs in the earlier recension at the beginning of the battle account, is retained here (F ii 55-60):

At the command of Assur, Sin, Shamash, Bel, Nabu, Ishtar of Nineveh, Ishtar of Arba'ili, Ninurta, Nergal, Nusku, in Ululu, (the month of) the work of the goddesses, month of the king of the gods, Assur, father of the gods, ^dNUN.NAM.NIR, like the rising of a raging storm I covered Elam in its entirety.

The report of Te-Umman's raising of an army and of his intent to battle Assyria is omitted. Te-Umman's role, in fact, is only acknowledged within the battle account while narrating his fate (F ii 61-62):

I cut off the head of Te-Umman, their king, the boaster, who plotted evil. Countless of his heroes I killed....

The battle at the Ulaya river is recounted briefly.

Similarly, the flight of the refugee princes, Ummanigash and Tammaritu, from Te-Umman appears in the account of their installation on the thrones of Madaktu and Hidalu.

Another account of the campaign against Te-Umman is preserved on two series of reliefs, one found in room 33 in the Southwest palace at Nineveh and the other in room I in the North palace at Nineveh. Six

slabs of historical narrative relief, in two registers, were preserved from room 33, positioned three on either side of the entrance to the room. Of the three slabs to the left of the entrance, slabs 1-3, almost all of the lower register and a few fragments of the upper register are preserved. The lower register reading from left to right depicts the pitched battle between Assyrian and Elamite forces at the Ulaya river. The three slabs to the right of the entrance preserve most of both registers; the lower depicts the installation of Ummaligash in the city of Madaktu and the upper register a processional scene before the king of Assyria. These scenes are densely captioned and allow the identification, with great specificity, of a variety of the individual events depicted as well as the overall action.⁴⁷

The lower register of slabs 1-3 shows the pitched battle between the Assyrian and Elamite armies. Slab 1 shows the Assyrian army, including cavalry, chariotry, archers, and foot soldiers charging down a mountain to the right, toward their Elamite counterparts. To the right of this, still on slab 1, the register is divided into three ground-lines; the lower two lines depict the raging battle which continues across slabs 2 and 3 up to the banks of a river which cuts across all three ground-lines and frames the register on the right side of slab 3. Along these lower two ground-lines, the figures of the Assyrian and Elamite armies are densely arranged and the viewer's attention is focused only by the presence of an epigraph inscribed directly on the surface of the relief. The epigraph is located on the middle ground-line on slab 2, just right of center. It is placed over the figure of a wounded Elamite officer lying on the ground, an

Assyrian soldier standing over him. The epigraph identifies the Elamite as Urtak, *hatān* of Te-Umman; it describes the situation shown and quotes his words: "Come, cut off my head. Bring it before the king, your lord, and make a name (for yourself)!"⁴⁸

The upper ground-line extending across slabs 1-3 shows scenes depicting the fate of the Elamite king, Te-Umman and his son, Tammaritu. Although the king (or his head) is shown five times, there are epigraphs inscribed over only three of the scenes. The action of the reliefs, in general, flows from left to right. The flow of time is also represented by the positioning of the figures from left to right. The final scene, however, depicting Te-Umman's ultimate fate actually appears on slab 1: the removal of Te-Umman's severed head from the battlefield. The head is held aloft by an Assyrian soldier in a chariot racing to the left. Its location on the reliefs is probably to be explained by the direction of the Assyrian encampment, somewhere to the left (the direction from which the Assyrians are charging). The head of Te-Umman is identified by an epigraph placed above the scene.⁴⁹ The rest of the scene shown on the upper ground-line on slab 1 shows Assyrian scribes counting the heads of the slain Elamites. The upper ground-line on slab 2 is badly damaged but the right half shows two Elamites being flung from an overturned chariot as they flee from the battle. Although there is no epigraph preserved above this scene, the Elamites can be identified as Te-Umman and his son Tammaritu. The scene is described on a tablet which contains a list of epigraphs:⁵⁰

Te-Umman, king of Elam, who was wounded in fierce battle, to save his life he fled and hid in a forest. The *bubūt* of his royal chariot was broken and (it) fell on top of him.

Below and slightly to the right of this scene, the wounded Te-Umman can be seen fleeing the wreckage, led by the hand of his son, Tammaritu. This scene too, is described by an epigraph which appears on a tablet rather than on the relief.⁵¹

Two epigraphs inscribed on the reliefs focus the viewer's attention on the next two episodes of the story of Te-Umman and his son on slab 3. The first focuses attention on their attempt to defend themselves: "Te-Umman, in desperation, said to his son, 'Take up the bow'."⁵² Further to the right a second epigraph describes a scene in which two Assyrian soldiers cut off the heads of two Elamites: ".... Their heads I cut off in front of each other."⁵³

The only portions of the upper register that are preserved are a small section from slab 1, depicting two captives grinding bones, while slab 3, shows two lines of Elamite captives being deported, moving from right to left.

Slabs 4-6, on the other side of the entrance, depict scenes from the aftermath of the campaign. The lower register of slabs 4-6 is divided into three ground-lines. The lowest of these is a river which extends across slabs 5 and 6 and shows the floating carnage of the recent battle. On the central ground-line is a line of Assyrian soldiers, including chariots and cavalry moving from left to right across slabs 4 and 5. In the center of slab 5 this line of Assyrians is met by a procession of Elamites, bowmen at the front, followed by

musicians, and in the rear, women and children.

The main activity of the register is shown on the upper ground-line. An Assyrian officer followed by Assyrian chariots and cavalry leads an Elamite by the hand in front of a delegation of Elamites on slab 5. This delegation, divided into two rows, is prostrated before the Assyrian officer who stands in front of a walled Elamite city shown on slab 6. An epigraph inscribed above the figures of the Assyrian officer and his Elamite charge identifies the scene as the installation of Ummanigash:⁵⁴

Ummanigash, fugitive, servant who submitted to me, at my command, joyfully, into Madaktu and Susa, I caused my shut-reshi, whom I sent, to enter and place him on the throne of Te-Umman, whom my hands conquered.

Slab 6 shows a walled Elamite town surrounded by a narrow river; an epigraph identifies it as the city of Madaktu.

The upper register of slabs 4-6 are divided into four ground-lines. The slabs depict a procession which moves from left to right, across slabs 4 and 5 into the presence of Assurbanipal in his ceremonial chariot on slab 6. All of the activity of this register is shown in the central two ground-lines. The lowermost ground-line shows a column of Assyrian soldiers facing right; it is met by an opposing column facing left and extending across slab 6. A similar column of Assyrians is shown on the uppermost ground-line, facing right across slabs 4 and 5; in slab 6, this ground-line contains a landscape.

The central two ground-lines show a procession also moving right, but at the juncture of slabs 4 and 5 there are two scenes, one above

the other, which interrupt the march. The upper scene shows two men being flayed; they were to be identified by the epigraph which appears above the scene, but the names were omitted. They are, however, identified in a variant of this same epigraph which appears on a clay tablet as Mannu-ki-ahhe and Nabu-usalli, two Gambulian officials captured in Assurbanipal's subsequent campaign to Gambulu (discussed below).⁵⁵

The other scene shows two men being beheaded; these may be Dunanu and Samgunu, also from the Gambulu campaign.

The procession continues moving right after this interruption and faces Assurbanipal in his ceremonial chariot in slab 6. The figure of the king in his chariot stands the height of both central ground-lines. At the front of the procession are two Urartean ambassadors led by an Assyrian officer. They face Elamite messengers and two Assyrian officers who stand in front of, and are dwarfed by, Assurbanipal in his royal chariot. The epigraph inscribed above the chariot identifies the scene and the participants:⁵⁶

I, Assurbanipal... Rusa, king of Urartu, heard of the strength of Assur, my lord, and fear of my dominion overcame him; he sent his nobles to ask my health. Before them, in the midst of Arba'ili, Nabu-damiq and Umbadara, nobles of Elam, with writing boards with insolent messages, I made stand.

The reliefs of room I in the North palace, which were carved somewhat later, are in relatively poor condition.⁵⁷ These reliefs were seemingly less densely captioned; only two epigraphs are preserved. The upper register of slabs 5-7 show a procession into an Assyrian city in slab 9, and probably represents the close of the campaign. The

lower register shows battle scenes up to the banks of a river, while on the opposite side of the river there is a procession, in front of which an Assyrian officer leads an Elamite by the hand into an Elamite city, pictured in slab 9. These scenes certainly correspond to the lower register of room 33 and represent the battle at the Ulaya river and the installation of Ummanigash. Two epigraphs are preserved on this series: one identifies an Elamite officer, Ituni,⁵⁸ in a battle scene on slab 1; the other is barely legible, but may identify the city in the upper register of slab 9 as Arba'ili.⁵⁹

The epigraphs which appear on clay tablets, but not on the reliefs, contribute additional details about events and persons in this campaign. Several Elamite officials are named in these epigraphs: Simburu, a *nāgir* of Elam who surrendered to Assyrian troops;⁶⁰ Umbakidinu, a *nāgir* of Hidalu who brought the head of Ishtar-nandi, king of Hidalu, to Assurbanipal;⁶¹ and Zineni the *ša-muhhi-māt-Suammuri*.⁶²

The epigraphs also mention that the celebration which followed the campaign took place in Milkia, or alternatively in Arba'ili, although neither city is mentioned in this account in the annals.⁶³

Date of the Campaign

The campaign against Te-Umman is believed to have taken place in 653. This date is based on the reference to a lunar eclipse, in the month of Tammuzu (IV), mentioned in the first recension (B, D, K, C) of the account. The eclipse is discussed in detail by Mayr in an appendix to Piepkorn's edition of Assurbanipal's annals.⁶⁴ He cites two

possible dates for an eclipse visible in Assyria in the month of Tammuz (IV): 663 and 653. He dismisses the possibility of 663 on the grounds that the eclipse would have concluded before sunrise and therefore "Shamash" could not have seen it. The date of 653 is usually accepted.⁶⁵

General Discussion

The abstract and orientation of the *girru* are largely combined in this narrative and relate Te-Umman's efforts to recover the refugee princes. This suffices as an account of relations between Assurbanipal and Te-Umman from the close of the previous *girru* when Te-Umman took the throne to the start of renewed hostilities between Assyria and Elam. This section also repeats the circumstances of Ummanigash's and Tammaritu's presence in Assyria.

The orientation section proper is a swift transition from past to present events (B v 1-3):

I trusted in Ishtar who encourages me, I did not favor his insolent request; I did not give him those fugitives. Te-Umman sought evil.

The most unusual aspect of the earlier recension of this *girru*, (editions B, D, K, and C) is the stacking of three very strong, religious events in the prelude to the campaign: the eclipse, the theophany, and the dream message. The account of the eclipse, interpreted as an evil omen for Elam, is introduced with the statement that Te-Umman plotted evil. The inference is that it was his evil deeds which brought about the eclipse. The eclipse foretells the end of

the Elamite's reign; it forms a type of prophecy.⁶⁶ This section anticipates or sets the stage for the account which tells of the fall of Te-Umman, which thus fulfills the prophecy.

The notice of Te-Umman's seizure in the account of the eclipse is one of many such notices in Assyrian and Babylonian inscriptions of illnesses which afflicted Elamite kings. It has been suggested that the practice of brother-sister marriages caused the line to become too inbred and was to blame for the illnesses of the Elamite line.⁶⁷

In the month of Abu (IV), while Assurbanipal was performing his religious duties in Arba'ili, he received a report that Te-Umman had begun to muster his troops to attack Assyria. Unlike the previous campaign where the assault of the Elamite forces is explicitly mentioned, here only a report of intent is recounted. At no time during the narration of this affair are the Elamites explicitly accused of attacking either Assyria or Babylonia.⁶⁸

The theophany and dream sequence which follow the account of the eclipse have been discussed in detail by Oppenheim in his consideration of the dream omens, the series *Ziqiqu*.⁶⁹ He first notes that dreams are reported in Assyrian royal inscriptions only in the inscriptions of Assurbanipal, which give four different dreams. The fact that a dream is reported in a royal inscription and that that dream urged Assurbanipal to remain in Arba'ili despite the reports of Elamite military activity on Assyria's border requires some explanation:⁷⁰

Either the king's stay in Arbela and his activites in the sanctuary ... had cultic significance which he ... felt should not be ignored, or the delay of the king in counterattacking the Elamites was caused by military considerations which

his stay in Arbela was meant to conceal.

Oppenheim addresses the inclusion of a dream report and theophany in terms of justifying Assurbanipal's delay in responding to the Elamite threat. But is this really the case? First, the evidence for an Elamite attack is fairly weak. In Abu (IV), Assurbanipal received a report that Te-Umman was mustering his troops and that his intent was to attack Assyria. It is clear, however, that by the time Assurbanipal actually took the field, in Ululu (VI), a month later, Te-Umman had only advanced as far as Bit-Imbi, outside of Der. As for the question of any delay in response, it is necessary to look at the chronology of the campaign a little more closely. Assurbanipal received the intelligence of Elamite intentions sometime in Abu (V), began his campaign sometime in Ululu (VI) and, according to a related account on a tablet,⁷¹ Assurbanipal engaged Elamite troops at the Ulaya on the 1st of Tashritu (VII). Thus, these are the events of a full two month period at most. Given that it would take approximately ten days to move an army the distance between Der and Susa, an approximate timetable for these events can be determined by counting backwards from the battle. If the battle took place on the 1st of Tashritu (VII), and it would have required at least ten days for Assurbanipal's army to travel from Der to Susa, then Assurbanipal's army would have had to depart Der no later than 19 Ululu (VI). Similarly, Te-Umman's troops had reached Bit-Imbi when Assurbanipal was raising his army in Der. Thus, the Elamite army could not have departed Susa later than the 27th of Abu (V) and Te-Umman would have been raising his army shortly before that date. It is in Abu (V) that Assurbanipal received the reports of

Te-Umman's intentions. Without specific dates the various time factors involved can not be determined with certainty, but since Te-Umman had not actually begun an attack, it is difficult to suggest that Assurbanipal had delayed his response.⁷²

If the report of Elamite military activity had been perceived as seriously threatening, it is unlikely that the king's cultic duties in Arba'ili would have interfered with the dispatch of the Assyrian army. In any case, if there were some delay in Assyrian response, would an elaborate explanation incorporating an eclipse, a theophany, and a dream report be required to explain it? For comparison there is the account of the previous Elamite campaign, Elam 1, in which the delay of the Assyrian army was long enough to allow the invader to "cover all of Akkad." This delay is acknowledged in a short passage concerning the receipt of conflicting information (B iv 35-48):⁷³

Regarding the rebellion of the Elamite, a messenger came to Nineveh, he spoke to me. Those words of the rebellion of Urtak, I did not take seriously because his nobles who were for peace repeatedly sent to me. I dispatched my messenger to see the king of Elam. Hastily, he went. He returned to me and he repeated to me this reliable report: "The Elamite like the rising locust covers Akkad, the entire plain of Babylon. The camp is pitched. The battle is readied."

Although the delay in responding to the Elamite invasion was significant in Elam 1, it did not require such an elaborate explanation to disguise it. If the delay was not the major reason for the inclusion of the theophany and dream sequence, then why were they included? In order to answer this, it is necessary to look at the possible motives for Assurbanipal's undertaking the campaign.

As noted above, the evidence for an Elamite attack on Assyrian territory is fairly weak. Reports on the activities of neighboring kings, military or otherwise, are well in evidence in the Assyrian royal correspondence; a report that Te-Umman was gathering an army would not be unusual. His presence in Bit-Imbi would certainly be construed as intent to attack Assyria.⁷⁴ But the fact that Te-Umman "fled before the army of Assyria" also suggests that his intentions, if he had any, were probably along the lines of raiding the border regions rather than a serious invasion of Assyrian territory. Stolper⁷⁵ and Brinkman⁷⁶ have taken the position that Assurbanipal had attacked Elam without provocation and Brinkman, at least, sees the campaign as punishment for Urtak's campaign against Assyria some ten years earlier. While this would account for the absence of an Elamite attack, it does not explain the need for the elaborate account that precedes the campaign.

It is unlikely that Assurbanipal intended the Elam 2 campaign, provoked or not, as long overdue punishment particularly since the main offenders were already dead. Another possible explanation for both undertaking the campaign and for the elaborate build-up in the account of that campaign can be offered. The presence of Te-Umman, known to be hostile to Assyria, near the border of Assyria may have provided an opportunity for Assurbanipal to install his Elamite clients. The recounting of the eclipse, the theophany, and the dream could then be seen as a means of justifying a rather special action. The Assyrian practice of installing native rulers who were loyal to Assyria in vassal and client states is well documented. Assurbanipal himself had

taken similar action just a few years earlier with regard to the Egyptian king Necho: after the Egyptian king, Necho, rebelled (in 667) and was captured, Assurbanipal struck a deal with him and returned him to his throne in Lower Egypt. Necho remained loyal to Assyria until his death in 664.

The difference in the case of Elam 2, however, is that this is the first time that an Assyrian king attempted to impose such an arrangement on a foreign, independent nation. The opportunity was available to Assurbanipal since several Elamite princes had fled from Te-Umman in 664 and were resident at the Assyrian court.⁷⁷ Assurbanipal must have seen this as a chance to re-establish the peaceful, treaty relationship with Elam that he had enjoyed at the beginning of his reign.

Interestingly, the entire section recounting the eclipse, theophany, and dream is omitted in the accounts of F and A, suggesting that whatever its purpose or interpretation it was no longer needed to justify the events as presented in the later editions. By the time editions F and A were composed, Assyrian-Elamite relations had passed through several more stages and in fact had deteriorated to the point where Assyria had completely devastated Elam and destroyed its cultic and capital city, Susa. Both Te-Umman and Ummanigash had long since passed from historical view.

The other omissions of the second recension are also interesting. The abstract is substantially changed from the earlier recension. It identifies the land of Elam as the target of the campaign rather than an individual (F ii 53-60):

In my fourth campaign, I took the road against Elam. At the command of Assur, Sin, Shamash, ..., in the month of Ululu, (month of) the work of the goddesses... like the rising of a raging storm I covered Elam in its entirety.

Neither F nor A includes Elam 1, among their *girru* accounts. The important information provided by the abstract and orientation of the earlier recension concerning Te-Umman's evil and the circumstances of the presence of the Elamite princes in Assyria is shifted to the coda of this narrative. The specific information retained from the earlier recension for inclusion in F and A, especially the account of the installation of Ummanigash and Tammaritu, indicates that it was thought necessary to explain subsequent events, such as Ummanigash's presence on the throne of Elam in the very next campaign.

The details of the installation of Ummanigash are also unclear. Edition B states that Ummanigash was installed on the throne of Te-Umman, implying the throne of Susa. The reliefs, however, clearly indicate that the city into which Ummanigash was installed was Madaktu rather than Susa.⁷⁸ Further confusing the issue is a caption, recorded on a tablet, that claims that Ummanigash was installed as ruler in both Susa and Madaktu.⁷⁹ The reliefs of room I depict the city into which the Elamite is being taken somewhat differently from those in room 33.⁸⁰ The city in room I is shown with a horned ziggurat in the foreground similar to one located at Susa as described in an account of a later campaign (Elam 5). Thus Susa may be the city depicted in room I's reliefs. Furthermore it is at this period that most scholars of Elamite studies place the reign of Atta-hamiti-Inshushinak in Susa.

This Atta-hamiti-Inshushinak is represented by several inscriptions in which he claims to be the son of Nutran-tepti--otherwise unknown--and takes the title, "king of Anshan and Susa."⁸¹ If Atta-hamiti-Inshushinak is correctly placed at Susa at this time, then despite the contradictory evidence, Ummanigash could not himself have been king in Susa.

The installation of the Elamite princes on the thrones of Madaktu and Hidalu has been offered as the reason for Assurbanipal's undertaking this campaign. But the question of why Assurbanipal should desire this arrangement must now be considered. This was, after all, an unprecedented action. The motive for this action is probably to be found in the increasing instability evident in Elam during the past century.

A quick glance at figure 9 (below p. 259), and the section on Historical Background in Chapter One, illustrates the instability of the Elamite monarchy at this time. During the period 675-653, at least nine different kings (plus two known only from Elamite sources) ruled in Elam compared to four in Assyria.

Although Te-Umman's reign in Susa appears to have been fairly stable (he had already held the throne for 10 years) a closer look at the evidence reveals an underlying fragmentation. First, there is yet another king in Hidalu, Ishtar-nandi (= Elamite, Shutruk-Nahhunte), who was deposed during Elam 2 (see above p. 144). Second, Te-Umman had to bribe his followers to aid him in his battle at the Ulaya river and he was apparently unable to take refuge behind the walls of his capital city, Susa.

Instability in Elam would have been just as threatening to Assyria as a hostile Elam. This situation may have provided the impetus for Assurbanipal's new policy of creating client kings in Elam: to impose stability on that fragmented polity which would have the added benefit of being a friendly government.⁸²

The Content of the *Girru* Account: The Campaign against Gambulu

The campaign against Gambulu is recorded in the same editions as the Te-Umman campaign and always follows it. Editions B, D, K, and C record the Gambulu campaign as a separate *girru* account (*girru* 8) while editions F and A record both the Te-Umman and the Gambulu campaigns within the same *girru* account introducing the Gambulu section with the phrase *ina tayyārtiya*, "on my return."⁸³

The first recension (editions B, D, K, and C) recounts the Gambulu campaign as follows. The *girru* begins with the usual abstract which identifies Dunanu, the son of Bel-iqisha, as the target of the campaign. The reason for the campaign is contained in the following two epithets: "who helped the king of Elam and did not bow to my yoke." The narrative then launches immediately into the campaign account. Assurbanipal's troops assaulted the royal city of Gambulu, Sha-pi-Bel. Dunanu and his brothers were captured along with some Elamite officials, Gambulian officials (Mannu-ki-ahhe and Nabu-usalli), and the sons of Nabu-shum-eresh. The captives and the booty from the city were transported back to Assyria.

The account ends with a description of the fates of the various captives. Dunanu was marched back to Nineveh with the head of Te-Umman around his neck where he was "slaughtered like a lamb." The head of Te-Umman was displayed in front of the gate of Nineveh. Samgunu, Dunanu's brother, was marched back to Nineveh with the head of Ishtarnandi, king of Hidalu, about his neck where he too was killed. Two officials of Gambulu, Mannu-ki-ahhe and Nabu-usalli, were flayed. Aplaya, a son of Nabu-salim and grandson of Merodach-baladan,

apparently a fugitive from Assurbanipal, was returned to Nineveh by Ummagash along with other brothers. The brothers of Apaya along with the brothers, left unnamed, of Dunanu were killed. The sons of Nabu-shum-eresh, the rebel from Nippur of Assurbanipal's previous campaign, were also brought back to Nineveh bearing the bones of their father and were made to crush those bones before the gate of Nineveh.

Edition K, while largely identical to B/D, shortens its account of this campaign, omitting the fate of the captives, Mannu-ki-ahhe and Nabu-usalli, and inserting a reference to a peaceful embassy from Rusa, king of Urartu.

The second recension, F and A, reduces the account of the attack on Gambulu to a few lines, just as it did with the Te-Ummal account. The *girru* account is introduced as a conquest at the end of the Te-Ummal campaign, introduced by the phrase *ina tayyārtiya*, "on my return." Dunanu is named as the target, though his filiation and one of his epithets are omitted (F ii 74-75):

On my return, I turned toward Dunanu, the Gambulean,
who helped Elam.

The campaign description is reduced to two lines (F ii 77-78): "I conquered Sha-pi-Bel, fortress city of Gambulu. I entered into that city. I slaughtered its people like lambs." The detailed descriptions of the fates of Dunanu and his brothers are likewise reduced to a few sentences. The enumeration of the other captives is omitted altogether.

There are no relief series which are entirely devoted to the

Gambulu campaign. However, the reliefs of room 33 in the Southwest palace that depict scenes from the campaign against Te-Umman (described above) include several damaged scenes which can be identified with this campaign. Slab 1, preserves a small fragment from its upper register depicting two men grinding bones and certainly is to be identified with the scene described in the closing section of the edition B, in which the sons of Nabu-shum-eresh are made to crush the bones of their father before the gates of Nineveh. Slab 5, the upper register, also contains a scene of two Gambuleans being flayed; this scene is identified by an epigraph inscribed on the relief. The scene directly below probably represents the slaying of Dunanu and Samgunu.

General Discussion

Despite the fact that edition B gives this campaign a separate *girru* number, there is no question that it took place during Assurbanipal's return from the Te-Umman campaign. This is evident from the fact that Dunanu transports the head of Te-Umman back to Nineveh around his neck. In addition, the authors of the relief series of room 33 also considered the two campaigns as associated. An epigraph known from a tablet speaks of the Gambulu campaign as follows: My troops who marched in the campaign against Elam, I did not relieve their weariness, I sent them toward Sha-pi-Bel, before Dunanu....⁸⁴

The reason for the campaign against Gambulu is unclear; the abstract seems to accuse Dunanu of aiding the Elamite king, Te-Umman, but there are no further references to his participation in that campaign. In fact, there is no information concerning the actions of

Gambulu between the time of Elam 1 and this campaign from any source. There is only a single oracle query which attests to the fact that Assurbanipal had, at least, considered military action against Gambulu in 658, but whether in retaliation for Bel-iqisha's part in the Elam 1 campaign or for some other reason is unknown.⁸⁵

ELAM 3: The Campaigns against Ummanigash, Tammaritu, and Indabibi

Elam 3 is recorded in six editions of Assurbanipal's annals, B, D, K, C, F, and A⁸⁶ which constitute five different recensions of the *girru*: B/D, K, C, F, and A. The discussion of this *girru* account differs from the preceding discussions because Elam 3 is not an account of a single campaign but rather, it is an account of a series of events, military and political, which involve several successive Elamite kings which took place during the period of Shamash-shum-ukin's rebellion against Assurbanipal (652-648 BC). The different recensions of this account are largely the result of scribal attempts to describe the very complex interrelationship between the Elamite and Babylonian conflicts.

The Content of the *Girru* Accounts

The first recension of Elam 3 is recorded in editions B and D. They do not assign a separate *girru* number to the campaign; edition B separates the account from the preceding *girru*, Elam 2, by a line drawn across the prism. The beginning of D is not represented by the available exemplars.

The accounts of B and D are identical. They begin abruptly, with the name Ummanigash, king of Elam, followed immediately by a list of his various sins (B vii 3-7):

Ummanigash for whom I had done many favors, made king of Elam, who was not mindful of the good relations; he did not keep the oath of the great gods; he accepted a bribe from the messengers of Shamash-shum-ukin, faithless brother, my enemy.

This abstract refers, of course, to the events at the close of the previous Elamite *girru* when Assurbanipal placed Ummanigash on the throne in Elam and presumably established some sort of treaty with him in exchange for Assyrian military support. The last line quoted above is a "chronological link" to the Shamash-shum-ukin rebellion: it links this campaign chronologically to another event occurring at the same time.

The account continues with a description of an Elamite attack on Assyria. A brief account of the background to the event and of several of the personalities involved is given: Ummanigash sent his troops, led by his generals, Neshu and Attametu, secretly through Chaldea, enlisting the aid of Zazaz mayor of Pillate, Paru mayor of Hilmu, and Undasi, a son of the slain Elamite king Te-Umman, whom Ummanigash encouraged to avenge his father's death (B vii 22-25):

Ummanigash spoke to Undasi thus: "Go! Exact vengeance from Assyria for your father, your sire."

Assurbanipal's troops met the Elamite army at Mangisi, near Sumandir,³⁷ and defeated them. The list of the slain includes all those named above with the exception of Neshu who apparently escaped this fate. The account goes on to say that Assurbanipal dispatched a messenger to Ummanigash, but Ummanigash detained that messenger and did not respond. The gods, however, "turned a righteous verdict" against Ummanigash who is unseated in a coup (B vii 43-44):

Tammaritu rebelled against him (Ummagash), he struck him down by the sword, together with his family.

The account continues with an account of Tammaritu's activities; Tammaritu, like Ummagash, went to the aid of Shamash-shum-ukin, but was deposed in a revolt led by one of his own servants, Indabibi.⁸⁸ Tammaritu, together with his family and eighty-five of his nobles, fled this usurper and sought the sanctuary of Assurbanipal's court.

Indabibi, unlike his two predecessors on the throne in Elam, did not side with Shamash-shum-ukin, at least not initially, and even adopted a friendly policy toward Assurbanipal by agreeing not to violate Assyria's borders and to release Assyrian troops that had been held captive in Elam.⁸⁹ B/D's account of Elam 3 ends here and is followed by an account of a campaign against the Arabs, also marked off by a line drawn on the prism.⁹⁰

The second recension of Elam 3 is contained in edition K. It is the first edition composed after the conclusion of the Shamash-shum-ukin rebellion and includes an account of that rebellion as part of the *girru* account of Elam 3. The combined narrative of the Samash-shum-ukin rebellion and the Elamite campaigns associated with it is very fragmentary; the very small portion that is preserved deals with those Elamite affairs first presented in B/D, but is entirely unlike the account known from those editions or even the later editions.⁹¹ It is discussed more fully below.

The third recension of this *girru* is contained in the next edition, C. According to the known exemplars of edition C, the account begins with the name of Shamash-shum-ukin, but is interrupted by a

break in the prism. In the next available section of the account, Ummagash incites Undasi, son of Te-Umman, against Assyria; the account continues, duplicating B/D's account of the Elamite affair through the coup against Tammaritu and his flight to Assyria.⁹² At this point, C inserts the account of the fall of Babylon to a protracted siege, describing the terrible famine in that city, the looting of the city, and the punishment of the rebels. C then shifts back to Elamite affairs, resuming with the account of Indabibi and his relations with Assurbanipal known from the first recension (editions B and D). C, however, adds that Assurbanipal threatened an Assyrian attack if Indabibi did not return the Chaldean rebel, Nabu-bel-shumate, and some Assyrian troops that Nabu-bel-shumate had imprisoned to Assyria. This message was never delivered to Indabibi and Assurbanipal attacked Elam. Before Assurbanipal reached Indabibi, however, Indabibi was killed in a revolt and was replaced on the throne by Ummaladas son of Attametu:⁹³

I wrote to Indabibi [via his messenger], thus: "If you do not send those [people] to me, [I shall come] and destroy your cities. I shall take the [people of Susa, Madaktu,] and Hidalu as spoil, and I will for[ce] you from your throne so that I can appoint someone to rule in your stead. The calamity which I impo[sed] upon Te-Umman, I will impose upon you." [Because] his messenger [never] reached him or told him about my ultimatum and [trusting] in Assur, Sin, Shamash... [who co]me to my aid, kill my enemy, [I marched] against Elam. [They heard of the ap]proach of my messenger.... The people of Elam revolted [against] Indabibi and [killed] him. Ummaladas, son] of Attametu, [took] his throne.⁹⁴

The fourth recension, edition F, like the first recension B/D, begins its account abruptly with a name, rather than the usual "formal"

opening, "in my nth campaign," naming Ummanigash and enumerating his various sins (F iii 6-9):

Ummanigash for whom I had done many favors, had placed for kingship in Elam, who did not heed my treaty, he allied (lit. set his face) with Shamash-shum-ukin, my brother, my enemy.

Like B, F's abstract repeats the information of the coda in the previous Elamite *girru*: Assurbanipal had placed Ummanigash on his throne in Elam. It also includes a "chronological link" to the Shamash-shum-ukin rebellion.

F omits any further notice of Ummanigash or the battle at Mangisi and continues with the account of Tammaritu's activities: first, his rebellion against Ummanigash, then his aid to Shamash-shum-ukin, and Indabibi's revolt. The final event of Elam 3 as recounted in F-- Tammaritu's flight with his family and nobles to Assyria--is abbreviated slightly though not substantially. The account of Indabibi's relations with Assyria, his fall, and the installation of Ummanaldas in Elam is omitted from F.

The fifth recension of Elam 3 is recorded in edition A. In general, A follows the account of F for the Elamite account, but expands some sections. More importantly, A reintroduces the account of the Shamash-shum-ukin rebellion which F had omitted.

In edition A the Elamite wars are embedded within the account of the Shamash-shum-ukin rebellion in a manner similar to that of C. A also gives this account a *girru* number, six.

An account of the background (orientation) for the Shamash-shum-ukin campaign begins immediately following the coda of the Gambulu

campaign of Elam 2 (A iii 70) and is introduced by the phrase "at that time."⁹⁵ It precedes the traditional opening phrase (A iii 128), "in my sixth campaign," and describes first, the background to the Babylonian rebellion: Assurbanipal placed Shamash-shum-ukin as king in Babylon and provided him with the appropriate regalia, even more than what was designated by his father. There follows a long description of Shamash-shum-ukin's deceit and deception⁹⁶ and the naming of those regions of Babylonia which supported the rebellion.

Next, the foreign kings whom Shamash-shum-ukin persuaded to join him are mentioned. First among them is Ummagash; the only king mentioned by name. He is identified as the "fugitive, who submitted to me, whom I set for kingship in Elam." Then the other foreign lands are listed.

Following this is an account of the closing of the gates of the Babylonian cities and a dream message received by a seer. At this point the "formal" beginning to the campaign narrative is given, "In my sixth campaign." The target of the campaign is given as Shamash-shum-ukin and is followed by a brief summary description of the battle in the south and famine in Babylon. Ummagash is again reintroduced, "Ummagash, king of Elam, placed by my hands, who accepted a bribe and rose up to his (Shamash-shum-ukin's) aid."⁹⁷ As in F, no further details about Ummagash's activities are given. The account goes on to describe Tammaritu's rebellion against Ummagash and his alliance with Shamash-shum-ukin, essentially following the earlier accounts. The remainder of A's account expands upon that of F, adding some detail, but like F, omitting the affair with Indabibi and Nabu-bel-

shumate and the installation of Ummanigash. The narrative closes with a description of the famine in Babylon, the death of Shamash-shum-ukin, and the capture of the rebels.

The Organization of the Narrative

The recensions of Elam 3, as noted above, are largely defined by the presence or absence of an account of the Babylon rebellion. Before a chronology of these events can be determined it is crucial to understand the various ways in which the scribes rendered this very complex series of events.

The first recension of Elam 3 in editions B and D dealt only with the Elamite campaigns and the associated events involving Ummanigash, Tammaritu, and Indabibi. The only reference to the Babylonian rebellion is the "chronological link" in the abstract that establishes the attack of Ummanigash as being in support of Shamash-shum-ukin's rebellion. The reason for omitting a fuller explanation of the Babylonian rebellion is surely to be found in the fact that the account in B and D was composed prior to the conclusion of the Shamash-shum-ukin campaign. The Shamash-shum-ukin campaign concluded sometime between VI/648 and I/647 (see below p. 175). Edition B was composed in V/649, fully one year before the close of the Babylon campaign. Similarly, edition D, dated to III/648, was composed some months before the conclusion of the campaign.⁹⁸ Although the Shamash-shum-ukin rebellion had been in progress since 652, it seems that the Assyrian editors refrained from writing about the war before its conclusion. They did, however, choose to describe related events which had already

occurred and whose outcome was known: the alliance of Ummanigash with Shamash-shum-ukin and the battle at Mangisi; Tammaritu's seizure of the throne; Indabibi's revolt against Tammaritu; and Tammaritu's flight to Assyria.

Edition K, probably composed sometime during 647, is the first of the editions to include an account of the Shamash-shum-ukin rebellion. Although the narrative of edition K is fragmentary, an account of the Shamash-shum-ukin rebellion was clearly included within it. The narration of the Elamite events is alternated with the narration of the Shamash-shum-ukin rebellion.⁹⁹

Edition C, probably also composed during 647, but after K, begins the account with the name of Shamash-shum-ukin; then, like K, it alternates the subjects of the narrative from Babylonian to Elamite to Babylonian and back to Elamite affairs. This account is discussed in greater detail below.

Edition F, composed in 646, seems to focus its military narration as a whole on the Elamite affairs of Assurbanipal's reign. Its account of Elam 3 is devoted entirely to selected Elamite episodes within the period of the Shamash-shum-ukin rebellion. Despite the fact that the Shamash-shum-ukin rebellion had been resolved, F omits any account of the Shamash-shum-ukin rebellion only referring to it through "chronological links."¹⁰⁰

The construction of the Elam 3 narrative in edition A is the most complex of all the editions, since the campaigns against the Elamites are not merely alternated with the narrative of the Shamash-shum-ukin rebellion, but are actually embedded within that narrative. Edition A

begins its discussion at the end of the previous *girru* (against Dunanu the Gambulian). The account begins with the relative temporal phrase "at that time (*ina ȳmešu*)."¹⁰¹ Between this and the "formal" opening (abstract) of the *girru* is an orientation section, identifying Shamash-shum-ukin, his position in Babylonia, and the actions that indicated his intentions to rebel against Assyria. These rebellious actions include the fortification of Babylonian cities and the alliance with foreign kings. At the close of this section is a dream message, containing a prophecy which condemns all those who would rebel against Ashurbanipal to death: by iron dagger, conflagration, famine, and plague. This prophecy begins also with the phrase "at that time."¹⁰² It is only at this point that the formal beginning to the *girru* account is given, signaled by the phrase "in my sixth campaign."¹⁰³ It continues with an abstract. The abstract gives the subject and target of the campaign as Shamash-shum-ukin and Babylon. Although the subject is given as the Babylonian campaign, the account that ensues is only a very brief summary account of 5 lines. This is immediately, and abruptly, followed by the introduction of the Elamite king, Ummānigash.¹⁰⁴ A large portion of the remainder of the narrative is devoted to a recounting of the complicity of the Elamite kings in Shamash-shum-ukin's rebellion, the deposing of Tammaritu by Indabibi, and the flight of Tammaritu to Assyria.

The final portion of the narrative, beginning also with the phrase "at that time,"¹⁰⁵ again takes up the Shamash-shum-ukin affair, describing the famine in the besieged city, the death of Shamash-shum-ukin and the fate of the rebels of Babylonia.

Two points of narrative structure are immediately apparent; the first is the three-part arrangement of the narrative, evident from the description given above; the second, is the repetition of certain phrases, information, and motifs in the narrative.

The three-part scheme already described is briefly as follows:

Part I begins with the phrase "at that time" and constitutes an orientation, providing the background information to the Shamash-shum-ukin rebellion. It precedes the formal opening of the *girru* narrative. Part II begins with the formal opening of the *girru*, "in my sixth campaign," followed by an abstract: a short summary account of the Babylon campaign up to the end of the rebellion and follows that with an account of Elamite activity during this period up to and including Tammaritu's flight from Indabibi. Part III begins, as does part I, with the phrase "at that time." It recounts the fall of the city of Babylon, the death of Shamash-shum-ukin, and the aftermath of the campaign.

The three sections of the narrative, in general, represent shifts in subject matter from affairs in Babylonia to affairs in Elam and back again to affairs in Babylonia. It can be seen in the arrangement and content of the three sections that this alternation in subject matter is intended to solve the problem of presenting the synchronicity between events which occurred in different places involving different peoples but which were interrelated.

This alternation of subject matter has already been noted for editions K and C. Along with the use of "chronological links" (used in all recensions) it conveys the chronological interrelationship of the

events in the two regions fairly successfully, but the author of the A account further integrates the narratives of the two events through a technique known as resumptive repetition.¹⁰⁶ This technique uses the repetition of phrases and motifs to shift a reader's attention back to the narration of an event previously mentioned but not fully articulated, or to events which had been interrupted by the narration of another event. This shift could represent either a shift in location (from an event in Babylonia to an event in Elam) or in time. The repetitions used by the author to achieve this effect are: the relative temporal phrase "at that time"; the name and identification of the Elamite king, Ummanigash; and the motif of death by dagger, conflagration, famine, and plague.

The phrase "at that time" occurs three times in the narrative. Two of its occurrences have already been discussed in connection with a shift in subject matter. The third occurrence is in the introduction to the dream message which closes part I. In addition to introducing new subject matter, this phrase also signals a shift in time; it returns the reader to the point in time where the phrase was last used. The phrase "at that time" is a structural as well as temporal element in the narrative.

Thus, in part I, "at that time" begins the narrative of the prelude to the Shamash-shum-ukin rebellion. The phrase anchors the narrative at a point in time close to the end of the Gambulu affair. The following narrative recounts events up to the rebellion itself. The same phrase at the start of the dream message brings the reader back to a point before the start of the rebellion: the prophecy must

precede the event or it would not be valid. The phrase "in my sixth campaign," can also be seen as a variant to "at that time" in functioning as a temporal anchor to which the reader is returned after an intervening narrative. It sets a new time referent, however: the beginning of the Assyrian reaction to the rebellion, to which the final "at that time," at the beginning of part III, refers.

The mentioning of the name of a character in a narrative automatically recalls to mind the last point in the narrative where that character was mentioned, but in this case, the reader is also referred from one time frame to another. The first time Ummanigash is mentioned is in part I, prior to the narration of any Assyrian military action, in the context of foreign kings who joined Shamash-shum-ukin in rebelling against Assyria. The mentioning of his name is unique in this context; he is the only king mentioned by name, the others are identified by country only. His uniqueness is further emphasized by the epithets that accompany his name. The reason for this becomes clear in the second appearance of his name in part II. Part I, as noted above, describes the events leading up to an Assyrian assault on Babylonia. Part II begins by describing the campaign against Babylonia up to and including its resolution; it then introduces Ummanigash. The campaign against Ummanigash which follows certainly occurred prior to the fall of Babylon, and if this reconstruction is correct, prior to or at the beginning of the campaign in Babylon. Therefore, the highly specific reference to Ummanigash in part I can be seen as anchoring that event; the exact placement of the campaign within the chronology

of the entire narrative is fixed. The repetition is not verbatim, but informational:

Part I: "Ummanigash, fugitive, who submitted to me, whom I placed for kingship in Elam and the kings of"

Part II: "Ummanigash, king of Elam, placed by my hands"

In addition to the repetition of phrases and information, A also uses the repetition of a motif: death by dagger, fire, famine, and plague, first introduced in the form of a prophecy related in the dream in part I. Since the notice of a prophecy would require the notice of the fulfillment of that prophecy the repetition of the motif is expected when the end of the campaign is narrated. The Babylonian campaign as narrated, in fact, ends twice: once early in part II and a second time in part III. The motif is repeated, as the fulfillment of the prophecy, at both points:

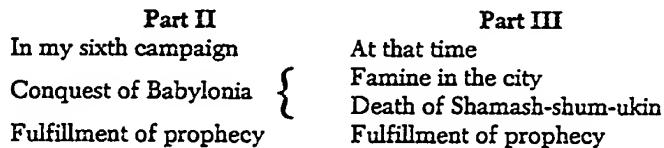
Part II (A iii 133-135): In the city and plain, without count, I constantly defeated him. The rest were afflicted by *plague, famine, and want*.

Part III (A iv 59-62): Those who escaped the cutting iron *dagger, famine, want, and raging fire* and went into hiding, the net of the great gods, my lords, from which there is no escape, overcame them.

The repetition of the motif, in part III, together with the repetition of the phrase "at that time" which began part III, again reorients the reader; his attention is returned to the context previously outlined at the beginning of part II. Thus, the events narrated between the phrase "at that time" and the fulfillment of the prophecy in part III are the

same as, or occurred within the same time frame as, the events narrated at the beginning of part II. More importantly, the events narrated in part III after the prophecy fulfillment can be placed within the chronology as occurring after the prophecy fulfillment narrated in part II. Parts II and III are illustrated schematically in figure 3.

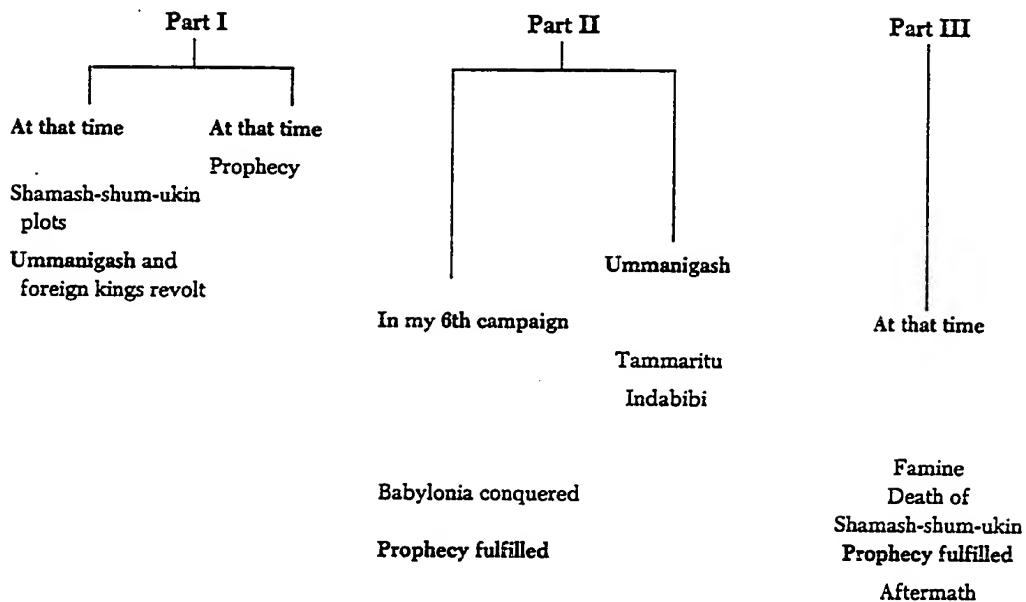
Figure 3



If the entire narrative is diagramed (figure 4), aligning the three types of repetitions, it is possible to see how the author of edition A used the three repetitions to indicate, within the confines of a linear narrative, the synchronous relationship of events occurring in two different locations and narrated separately. At the same time, the author steadily advances the narrative diachronically. In each case "at that time" begins the narrative at a fixed point in time, the first "at that time" is connected to the end of the Gambulu account, the second refers back to the first. A new time referent is established by the phrase "in my 6th *girru*" and the third "at that time" refers back to it.

The repetition of Ummanigash's name and epithets returns the reader to a consideration of the Elamite sphere of action and locates the action at a point prior to the campaign against Babylonia. The combination of "at that time" and the repetition of the fulfillment of prophecy motif frames the narration of the Babylonian campaign.

Figure 4



The problem of rendering the synchronicity of interrelated events was dealt with more simply in the other recensions. The accounts of B/D and F which do not include any detailed discussion of the Shamash-shum-ukin rebellion nevertheless indicate the close relationship between the two affairs by employing a system of "chronological linking" already noted above.¹⁰⁷

Editions C and K are very fragmentary. K is the first of the annals editions to include an account of the Shamash-shum-ukin rebellion, but only a small portion from the episode of the famine in Babylon is preserved.

The account in C, like K and A, begins immediately following the narrative of the previous *girru* account. Exemplars of edition C

preserve several sections of the campaign narrative but with significant gaps. It begins with the name of Shamash-shum-ukin, but then breaks off. The narrative is resumed after a lacuna, in the middle of the Ummanigash episode, narrating the event in its full form as it occurs in edition B. C then continues with the account of Tammaritu's alliance with Shamash-shum-ukin, Indabibi's revolt against Tammaritu, and Tammaritu's flight to Assyria. After another gap, the text resumes in the middle of an account of the terrible famine in Babylon followed by the death of Shamash-shum-ukin. The account then shifts back to Assyria's relations with Indabibi, adding to the information already known from edition B that Indabibi fell to an internal rebellion, provoked by the approach of the Assyrian army.

With the exception of the final, Elamite section in C the narratives of both C and A alternate their Babylonian and Elamite accounts in a similar manner. The technique of resumptive repetition, however, is not in evidence in edition C. In the two cases in C's narrative where the shift between the Elamite and Babylonian events is preserved, the phrase used by A, "at that time," is not in evidence.¹⁰⁸ Similarly, there is only scanty evidence for the motif of death by dagger, fire, famine, and plague in C.¹⁰⁹ C's method of rendering the synchronicity of the two events is limited to the alternation of the narratives and to "chronological links" within the Elamite narratives.

One final remark regarding the structure of edition A's account should be added here. The first part of the narrative, part I, has been referred to as an orientation section in the preceding discussion. In as much as it does act as a bridge between the last *girru* narrated,

the Gambulu account, and the Babylon/Elam 3 *girru*, it could be described as a coda to the Gambulu account in A as well. However, for two reasons this nomenclature has been rejected.

First, in edition C, part I is marked off from the Gambulu account by a line drawn across the prism. Clearly this indicates that the section was written as an introduction or orientation to the Babylon account.

Second, the Babylon rebellion posed a special problem for the Assyrian author, not only in terms of the complexity of rendering the chronological relationship of the events but also in terms of placing it within a sequence of Elamite *girru* narratives. It has been noted in the discussions of the earlier *girru* accounts that there was a coda to each *girru* that formed a bridge to the next account and, as will be discussed below in greater detail, this bridge is repeated in some fashion in the abstract to the next *girru*. This principle, in fact, holds true in all the Elamite *girru* accounts. But the thematically intrusive *girru*, Gambulu and Babylon, complicate the issue somewhat between Elam 2 and Elam 3.

Looking first at the simplest situation, the first recension in editions B and D, recall that the account of Elam 3 was not introduced as a new *girru*. There was, nevertheless, an abstract. This abstract repeated information that first occurred in the coda to the first of the two Elam 2 *girru*. That is, editions B and D list the Te-Umman campaign and the Gambulu campaign as separate *girru*. The coda to the Te-Umman *girru* contains the bridge to Elam 3, despite the fact that the Gambulu *girru* is placed in between. The coda to the Gambulu account

acts in its most basic function, closure: it returns the reader to Assyria and contains no bridge to another event.

When the account of the Babylon rebellion is added to Elam 3 in the three recensions represented by K, C, and A. The coda-abstract repetition seen in the first recension is impossible, since the new *girru* is not really an Elamite *girru*, but a Babylon *girru* requiring an abstract concerning the Babylon campaign. The repetition from the coda of Elam 2, is given, but in a different form, as orienting elements attached to the name of Ummanigash in the body of the narrative: the informational repetition discussed in conjunction with A's account.

The new section, designed to provide an orientation to the Babylon campaign, first appears in editions K and C. In these editions there is no evidence of the special temporal construction, *ina ȳmēšu*, which linked the events of part I in A to the preceding *girru*. Thus, it was initially composed to provide a background for the ensuing events, not to provide a bridge between the Gambulu *girru* and the Babylon *girru*.

Date of the Campaign

The events described in Elam 3 occurred within the time period of the Shamash-shum-ukin rebellion. News of Shamash-shum-ukin's revolt had reached Assyria by 11/23/652, the date of a letter written by Assurbanipal to the people of Babylon¹¹⁰ in an attempt to turn their loyalty from Shamash-shum-ukin. The rebellion concluded sometime after 30/V/648,¹¹¹ but before 6/X/647.¹¹² Babylon itself must have fallen between 30/V/648 and the end of that year.¹¹³

All the events recorded in all editions of the annals involving the Elamites must have concluded before the end of 647, the date of edition C.¹¹⁴ Similarly, all events including Indabibi's overthrow of Tammaritu must have occurred prior to V/649, the date of edition B.

The attack by Ummanigash seems to have occurred early in the rebellion and may in fact be identical with a battle at Hirit recorded in the Akitu Chronicle for 27/XII/652.¹¹⁵

The revolt that displaced Ummanigash probably occurred shortly after the defeat of his troops at Mangisi. The revolt which displaced Tammaritu occurred sometime after the installation of Bel-ibni as governor of the Sealand in II/650.¹¹⁶

Indabibi remained on his throne and the Assyrians did not attack Elam until after III/648 (date of D), but the entire affair concluded early in 647 (see below Elam 4). Thus a chronology looks something like the following:

652	II	Shamash-shum-ukin revolts
652	XII	Ummanigash meets Assurbanipal at Hirit/Mangisi
		Ummanigash is overthrown and Tammaritu is king in Elam
after II/650 but before V/649		Tammaritu is deposed by Indabibi (date of B)
649		Indabibi is king in Elam
647	II	Shamash-shum-ukin rebellion quelled and Kandalanu installed in Babylon
647		Indabibi overthrown and Ummanaldas becomes king in Elam

General Discussion

The Shamash-shum-ukin rebellion forms a turning point in the fortunes of Assyria. Though it was eventually quelled, it represented four years of continuous disruption at the very heart of the empire and required all of Assyria's military attention. Information about the state of the empire just prior to and during the rebellion is scanty but by the close of the rebellion it is certain that Assyria had lost control of Egypt and the west. Her ties with Anatolia had also been broken.

The events of the Shamash-shum-ukin rebellion itself are similarly sketchy. Assyria had become aware of the unrest in Babylonia by II/652;¹¹⁷ hostilities commenced in X/652.¹¹⁸ Exactly when Ummanigash's troops encountered the Assyrian army at Mangisi is unknown but probably occurred close to the beginning of the revolt (above p. 176). The Babylonians often sought Elamite aid in their rebellions against Assyria, and Ummanigash's attack is uniformly placed at the beginning of the battle accounts. Ummanigash's troops enlisted the aid of two of the mayors of the Gambulian tribal region, traditionally allies of Elam in her anti-Assyrian activities.

The next event narrated by the annals describes the revolt of Tammaritu which deposed Ummanigash, and seems to have followed closely on his defeat at Mangisi.

The identity of the Tammaritu who displaced Ummanigash on the throne is uncertain. The casual way in which the annals introduce him into the account has led some scholars to assume that he was the same Tammaritu the Assyrians placed on the throne in Hidalu and was the

third brother of Ummānigash, son of Urtak. There are, however, some indications that the Tammaritu who followed Ummānigash on the throne in Elam may have been a different Tammaritu from the king in Hidalu.

Evidence for believing that there were two different Tammaritus is provided by other texts. K.3062, an annalistic inscription, includes an account of a later campaign, in which a list of royal statues, plundered from Susa when it was destroyed, is given.¹¹⁹ In this list a comment is inserted after the name Tammaritu: "<who> fled from Elam and submitted to me, performed my service." This description is ambiguous; it could apply to either the incident which followed Elam 1, in which the sons of Humban-haltash II and Urtak fled to Assyria's protection or the flight of Tammaritu after Indabibi's rebellion. This same inscription, along with the accounts in editions F and A in their list of plundered statues, refers to Tammaritu as, Tammaritu *arkū*, "Tammaritu, the second," or the younger. This strongly suggests that the Tammaritu who was king in Susa was not the same as Tammaritu, king of Hidalu.

Two other texts which may cast some light on the matter are K.1364 and K.2631+. K.1364¹²⁰ is badly broken at the critical point, but after describing Ummānigash's treachery it may read: [²*Tam-ma-ri*]-*tu lā ahi Ummānigaš sēr ²*U[mmanigaš....]*, "[Tammari]tu, who is not the brother of Ummānigash, against U[mmanigash...]." If the reconstruction is correct it would certainly indicate that there were two Tammaritus. K.2631+, a text dedicated to Nergal, says of the Tammaritu who deposed Ummānigash: *ina qāti* ²*Tammaritu apil* ²*Ummānigašma aḥ abišu ianū[šuma]*, "They <the gods> placed into the hands of Tammaritu, heir of*

Ummānigash, brother of his father." This seems to indicate that Tammaritu was the heir to Ummānigash and Ummānigash was the brother of his (Tammaritu's) father. Thus, this Tammaritu was the nephew of Ummānigash, king of Elam, rather than the Tammaritu who was the third brother of Ummānigash and king in Hidalu. It seems best to consider the Tammaritu of Elam 3 to be Tammaritu II, an individual separate from Tammaritu, the king of Hidalu.¹²¹

There is absolutely no information about Indabibi beyond the references in the annals to his overthrow of Tammaritu II and edition C's rather longer account of his brief tenure of office in Susa.¹²² Neither are there any records of his tenure in Elam from Elamite sources. Indabibi did not take the throne until sometime after II/650 and was probably removed by the close of the Shamash-shum-ukin rebellion or shortly after. He was certainly replaced before the date of C's composition, sometime in 647.¹²³

The episode concerning Indabibi's activities as king in Elam, as noted above, appears only in edition C, just as the account of the battle at Mangisi appears only in editions B/D. It seems that Indabibi's brief tenure of office in Elam was perceived as being without lasting significance, at least to Assyria. In later editions, the scribes reduced both Indabibi's and Ummānigash's activities to minor episodes, only briefly described. Ummānigash's significance in subsequent editions of the annals is only in moving the narrative along. He was placed on the throne and therefore must be removed from the throne in order to explain the episodes of Assyria's dealings with Tammaritu II. Similarly, Indabibi's alliance with Assyria forms a

useful motif for Assyrian ideological purposes and his revolt against Tammaritu II is crucial for understanding Assyria's continuing relationship with Tammaritu II. Indabibi's fall, however, and the appearance of Ummanaldas on the throne in Elam disappear from accounts in editions subsequent to C. As noted above, the abstracts of the Elamite campaigns usually repeat information from the coda of the previous Elamite campaign. The omission of the coda to Elam 3, the installation of Ummanaldas, from editions F and A disrupts the narrative continuity of editions F and A. The abstract of Elam 4 that states the campaign to be directed against Ummanaldas, king of Elam, is without context (see below pp. 189 and 239).

The rapid changes in leadership in Elam during this period are indicative of things to come. The title "king of Elam" as it is granted by the Assyrian scribes ceases to indicate a position of any real authority or stability. It seems, rather, to refer to persons in possession of certain cities and armies, persons whom Assyria would prefer to recognize, or persons who significantly affected Assyria's relations with Elam or another neighbor, such as Babylonia. The question of who among these persons represented a "legitimate" ruler can no longer be determined from the Assyrian sources and very likely became irrelevant as the structure of the Elamite polity broke down.

ELAM 4: the First Campaign against Ummanaldas

Assurbanipal's fourth campaign against the Elamites followed very closely on the close of the Shamash-shum-ukin rebellion. The accounts of this campaign are recorded in four of the editions of his annals, K, C, F, and A, each a separate recension. In each edition the account is assigned a *girru* number: eleven in K, five in F, seven in A, and the number is broken away in C.

The Content of the *Girru* Accounts

Edition K is the earliest of the editions to record this campaign, assigning the *girru* the unexpectedly high number of eleven.¹²⁴ It is the last *girru* recorded in the military narration, before the building inscription and after the account of the Arab campaign. This campaign is the last of the Elamite campaigns recorded in this edition. It is not, however, located with the other Elamite campaigns. Thus it is out of the geographical order usually given in Assurbanipal's annals.

Only a small portion from the beginning of the account can be reconstructed from the available fragments. It begins with a standard abstract of the campaign, which names the land of Elam as the target of the campaign rather than a specific person or Elamite king. There are no evaluative clauses in the abstract which provide the motive for the campaign.

The account presents the battle in a single statement that Bit-Imbi was conquered (K: BM 134436 col. b; A 8111):¹²⁵

In my 11th campaign, I marched against Elam.
Bit-Imbi, the fortress city, I conquered.

No details on the conquest of Bit-Imbi are provided and the account continues with a detailed description of the punishment of the residents of Bit-Imbi: Imbappi, an Elamite commander (*rāb-qāšti*) stationed in Bit-Imbi, is captured alive and deported; the women of the palace, a son of the slain Elamite king, Te-Umman, and the rest of the people of Bit-Imbi are also deported to Assyria. K's account breaks off at this point.

Even less is preserved of the second recension, edition C. A few fragmentary lines from the introductory formula appear to give the account a *girru* number.¹²⁶ The traces also favor an abstract and presentation like that of K. A longer portion from the end of C's account is preserved and is best discussed after a presentation of the other events of the campaign as known from the other sources.

The third recension, edition F, shows a marked change from K, placing the assault against Bit-Imbi within the context of a campaign directed against the Elamite king, Ummanaldas. The abstract identifies the objective of the campaign as Ummanaldas, the king of Elam, and includes a date, the month of Simanu (III). Like K, F gives no reason for Assyria's hostility to Ummanaldas or Elam. F's abstract, however, provides the additional information that Tammaritu II, recently deposed and under the protection of Assyria, accompanied the Assyrians on the campaign (F iii 34-38):

In my fifth campaign, in Simanu--month of Sin, lord of signs, first son, foremost of Enlil--I called up my troops against Ummandalas, king of Elam. I took the road. I brought with me, Tammaritu, king of Elam, who had fled before Indabibi, his servant, and had submitted to me.

Following this abstract is a summary account of the conquest of Hilmu and Pillatu, cities usually associated with the region of Gambulu, to the south of Assyria.¹²⁷ The two towns submitted without a fight and were plundered. The campaign against Bit-Imbi is then taken up in a more elaborate fashion.

The account of the battle against Bit-Imbi is introduced by the phrase *ina mētiq girriya*, "In the course of my campaign," and duplicates K's account of Imbappi's deportation to Assyria, the capture and deportation of the women of the palace, a son of the Elamite king, Te-Ummu, and of the rest of the people of Bit-Imbi. To the account known from K, as far as K is preserved, F adds only a single additional clause about the strategic importance of the city: "(Bit-Imbi) which like a great wall stands before Elam."¹²⁸

After describing the fall of Bit-Imbi the account returns to the objective named in the *girru* abstract, Ummandalas. Ummandalas, in his fortress city of Madaktu, heard of the advance of the Assyrian army and fled to the mountains. Another Elamite, Umbahabua, seized the Elamite throne but also fled his city, Bubilu, before the Assyrian troops.¹²⁹

Once the Assyrian army had removed all obstacles to the throne, the reason for Tammaritu's presence on the campaign was revealed; Assurbanipal installed Tammaritu as king in Susa. Tammaritu, however, seems to have reverted almost immediately to his earlier behavior and rebelled. According to the campaign account, the gods soon deposed

Tammaritu and once again made him submit to Assurbanipal.

The account concludes with Assurbanipal's return march, listing twenty-nine cities plundered along the way and the deportation of their people, livestock, and gods to Assyria.

Returning to a consideration of edition C, the second recension, that portion of C's account preserved from the end of the *girru* account resumes in the middle of a list of twenty-nine cities, identical to F's.¹³⁰ But while F follows up that list with the return march to Assyria, C devotes another thirty-three lines to additional details concerning the final actions of the Assyrian army. This section of C contains a description of the fate of some Elamites who had apparently been punished in a previous campaign by Assurbanipal's grandfather, Sennacherib, and whom Assurbanipal brought to Assyria and flayed. The narrative goes on to recount the punishment of persons from Lower Babylonia who had withheld tribute/taxes, and of the distribution of booty from the campaign in Elam to the gods and governors, army and people of the cities of Assyria.

The fourth recension, edition A, in general duplicates F, but makes several additions to the narrative. First, A adds the names of four additional cities to those of Hilmu and Pillatu at the beginning of the campaign. A reference to Sennacherib's previous campaign against Bit-Imbi is added to the description of the stategic importance of Bit-Imbi. A gives a slightly variant description of Imbappi: "q̄ipu-official of Elam, *hatān* of Ummaladas, king of Elam." The information is added that the insurgent king, Umbahabua, seized the throne when there was a revolt in Elam. Finally, to the description of Tammaritu's

rebellion is added a direct quotation by Tammaritu. A reference is made to that quotation several lines later.

The Organization of the Narrative

The narrative of A probably reflects the actions of two separate armies.¹³¹ One, launched from Der and operating in the north, as stated by the *girru* account, probably had Ummanaldas in his northern fortress city, Madaktu as the objective. A second army coming from the south was directed by Bel-ibni. The existance of this second army is not immediately obvious from any single *girru* account, however, a comparison of the abstracts and the first episodes of the body of the narratives reveals a problem in the geography of the accounts as narrated.

If the beginnings of the *girru* narratives of the four editions are compared (figure 5), it can be seen that the development of the abstracts and the first episodes in the body of the narrative are marked by three changes. First, the abstracts of K and C which

Figure 5

Edition	K	C ¹³²	F	A
Abstract	Against Elam	[Against Elam]	Against Umman- aldas	Against Umman- aldas
			Tammaritu	Tammaritu
Body of the Narrative			Hilmu/Pillatu Dummuqu/Sulayu Lahiru/Dibirinu	Hilmu/Pillatu
	Bit-Imbi	[Bit-Imbi]	Bit-Imbi	Bit-Imbi

identified the land of Elam as the target of the campaign is altered in F and A to a campaign against Ummaladas. Second, the additional information that Tammaritu II was taken along on the campaign is added to the abstracts of editions F and A. Third, a summary account of the cities which surrendered to and were plundered by the Assyrian army is inserted in editions F and A between the abstract and the narrative of the Bit-Imbi assault; F lists two cities, A lists six.

Looking first at the geographical elements in the accounts, there is a change between editions K and F: the account of K deals with a campaign against Bit-Imbi while F deals first with campaigns against Hilmu and Pillatu before continuing to an account of the campaign against Bit-Imbi. The account of edition A adds the names of four other cities to those of Hilmu and Pillatu.

The location of the cities mentioned in this account cannot be determined with any certainty. Bit-Imbi is described as a border city of Elam; references in the letters and royal inscriptions place it close to the city of Der.¹³³ Hilmu and Pillatu were located on the border between Babylonia and Elam, in a region usually associated with the Gambulu tribe.¹³⁴ Dummuqu, Sulayu, and Dibirinu do not occur elsewhere in the royal inscriptions.¹³⁵ Lahiru is known from a variety of other inscriptions. The city is located on the border between Assyria and Elam; it was at one time placed under the control of the governor of Arrapha and should probably be located somewhere between the city of Der and Arrapha, and thus, far to the north of Hilmu and Pillatu.¹³⁶ Although the accounts of editions F and A both suggest that the Assyrian army was moving from south to north, the fact that

the earlier recension in edition K begins with a campaign in the north, Bit-Imbi, suggests that the course of events was not quite as F and A present them.

Edition K isolates Elam 4 away from the other Elamite accounts and at the end of the entire military narration. This suggests that that portion of the campaign at least had concluded close to the time that K itself was composed.¹³⁷ The fact that a separate *girru* number was assigned to that campaign also suggests that it was, at least initially, regarded as a separate and discrete military action. Furthermore, in editions F and A, the account of the Bit-Imbi campaign includes the relative temporal phrase *inə mētiq girriya*, "in the course of my campaign." This phrase separates this action from the preceding actions against Hilmu and Pillatu indicating that it occurred during the *girru* period, as defined by the abstract, but not necessarily in the chronological sequence implied by the narrative organization. A final indication that this campaign did not consist of a single march from south to north is contained in the edition C. Edition C, composed between editions K and F, is difficult to analyze because of its fragmentary state, however, it contains a reference to the punishment of persons from southern Babylonia during Elam 4, but this reference is located at the very end of the *girru* account after the narration of the Bit-Imbi campaign.

Additional supporting evidence for this contention comes from the royal correspondence, which indicates that during the period covered by this *girru* account an army under the direction of Bel-ibni, governor of the Sealand, was moving north from the Sealand toward Susa and

northwestern Elam. Two letters from Bel-ibni to Assurbanipal refer to the surrender of Hilmu, Pillatu, and Lahiru as noted in the *girru* narratives of F and A. A letter from Bel-ibni indicates that Lahiru surrendered to Assyria without a battle:¹³⁸

The sheikhs of the city of Lahiru and the Nugu' people, when they saw (the Assyrian assault on Irgidu), and after my troops continued to attack their rear, out of fear they gave their word and made an agreement with Musezib-Marduk...saying, "We are the servants of the king of Assyria."

ABL 1000, sent by Bel-ibni to Assurbanipal, reports that Nabu-bel-shumate had hired the Hilim, Pillat, Guguhu, Jashian, and Lakabru against Bel-ibni and that Bel-ibni, in pursuit, had crossed the Persian Gulf and attacked Hilim and Pillat, but that Nabu-bel-shumate had escaped. Contrary to the picture given in the annals, Bel-ibni's account of the assault on that region indicates that there was indeed a battle (obv. 8-9): "they brought about a defeat against Hilim and Pillat."

It can be noted that, in contrast to the mentioning of Hilmu, Pillatu, and Lahiru in Bel-ibni's letters, none of his letters mention Bit-Imbi.¹³⁹

Thus, the evidence of the changes which took place in the structure of the narrative from one edition to another, with reference to the direction and target of the campaign, along with the evidence of the royal correspondence demonstrates that the account of Elam 4, in fact, represents the activities of two separate armies: an Assyrian army in the north which attacked Bit-Imbi, and an army commanded by Bel-ibni coming from the south. In addition, the close correspondence

between the content of Bel-ibni's letters and some of the newly inserted campaign accounts suggests that Bel-ibni's letters were the source of at least some of the new material which was added to the accounts of editions F and A.

The remainder of Bel-ibni's letters which can be dated to this campaign indicate that one of his most important objectives was the capture of the Chaldean rebel, Nabu-bel-shumate, who continued, as evidenced by the letter quoted above and other letters,¹⁴⁰ to harass Assyria and Babylonia from bases inside Elam and along the border.

Presumably, Bel-ibni began his march along the Babylonian-Elamite border and into Elam shortly after the close of the Shamash-shum-ukin rebellion.¹⁴¹ As he pressed toward Susa he learned of an internal rebellion against Ummanaldas.¹⁴² The rebellion (or perhaps the approach of Bel-ibni) probably forced Ummanaldas to retreat to Madaktu sending his troops to the land of Rashi with its capital, Bit-Imbi, in anticipation of an Assyrian attack in that region. The Assyrian assault on Bit-Imbi pushed Ummanaldas into the mountains.

The presence of another new element in the abstracts of editions F and A, stating that Tammaritu II was with the Assyrian army on the campaign, is probably to be explained in another way: it may represent an effort to create a new coda-abstract connection. As noted earlier (p. 174), the abstract of the Elamite *girru* usually included information that had first appeared in the coda to the preceding Elamite *girru*. But, since editions F and A, in rewriting the account of the Elam 3/Babylon *girru*, omitted the coda which described the appearance of Ummanaldas on the Elamite throne, the scribes seem to

have chosen to repeat information from the only available "coda": the flight of Tammaritu II from Indabibi to Assyria.¹⁴³

The compositional structure of both editions F and A is therefore an attempt to integrate information from both the southern and northern campaigns into a single narrative. First, F and A name the campaign by the objective ultimately achieved--the routing of Ummanaldas. Second, they add the information that Tammaritu was taken along on the campaign, and third, they include the summary account of the two cities conquered in the southern campaign. This results in a rather uneven presentation since the entire, relatively detailed account of the Bit-Imbi campaign is retained from K; the insertion of additional city names in A's narrative may have been an attempt to balance the battle accounts of the two armies.

The fragmentary condition of editions K and C prevent a real understanding of the development of their narratives. The content and arrangement of C's narrative can only be guessed at. The introduction seems to be the same as K's, even though the campaign against Ummanaldas is clearly included in C. Perhaps the introduction remained as in K, because the ultimate objective,¹⁴⁴ the capture of Ummanaldas, had not yet been achieved at the writing of C. After the conclusion of Elam 4, Ummanaldas returned to his city of Madaktu. Another campaign (Elam 5) sent Ummanaldas fleeing once again to the mountains. And he was not finally captured until sometime after that.¹⁴⁵

The final list of twenty-nine cities plundered on the army's return, present in the accounts of C, F, and A, cannot be evaluated fully, since the location of most is unknown and the location of only a

few can be suggested. The inability to locate these sites prevents a determination of whether or not the army was moving from north to south or in some other direction.¹⁴⁶

General Discussion

Tammaritu, who was brought from Assyria in order to be returned to his throne, rebelled again, apparently almost immediately and certainly within the year, was again dethroned, and returned to Assyria.¹⁴⁷ The reasons for Tammaritu's second departure from Elam to the sanctuary of Assyria are obscure. According to edition F, the gods removed Tammaritu from his throne (F iii 74-81):

Assur and Ishtar--who go at my side, who cause me to prevail over my enemies--saw the heart of Tammaritu, the wicked one, the rebel. They called him to account. From his royal throne they cast him. They returned him to me. A second time, they made him submit to me. By the strength and power of the great gods, my lords, I entered Elam and marched as victor.

The references to Tammaritu's crimes are not specific (F iii 72-74):

He forgot the good things which I had done for him, that I came to his aid; he plotted evil for the conquest of my army.

A's account is somewhat more detailed but no less obscure (A.v 23-40):

He forgot the good things which I had done for him, that I had come to his aid; he plotted evil for the conquest of my troops. Thus he spoke in his heart, "The people of Elam wherever they turn they are before Assyria. They (the Assyrians) invade in order to continually plunder Elam."

Assur and Ishtar--who go at my side, who cause me to

prevail over my enemies--saw the heart of Tammaritu, the wicked one, the rebel. They called him to account. From his royal throne they cast him. They returned him to me. A second time, they made him submit to me. Because of those words--in the anger of my heart over Tammaritu, faithless one, who sinned against me--by the strength and power of the great gods I marched as victor throughout Elam.

Edition A's addition of a direct quotation from Tammaritu is interesting but not very informative. The quotation, at first glance, seems to provide the motive for Tammaritu's rebellion: the constant plundering of Elam by Assyria. However, the Assyrian scribe certainly intended to support the Assyrian contention that Tammaritu had sinned. From an Assyrian point of view, this quotation may have been intended to convey the idea that Assyrian power was ever-present and that Tammaritu challenged Assyria's right to exercise that power and its attendant privileges. Despite the additional detail, however, there is no specific information regarding Tammaritu's second fall from the Elamite throne.¹⁴⁸

It is interesting to compare the characterizations of Tammaritu II in the accounts of Elam 3 and Elam 4. In Elam 3, Tammaritu is said to have come to the throne of Elam after deposing Ummanigash. At that time Tammaritu was unknown to Assyria (above pp. 177ff.); the terminology used to characterize him reflects his specific actions vis-à-vis the Shamash-shum-ukin rebellion: He is evil, he accepted bribes, he did not ask after Assurbanipal's health, he came to Shamash-shum-ukin's aid, and he spoke insolence.

The characterizations given in Elam 4 for Tammaritu show a different attitude toward the Elamite king; he forgot the favors done

him by Assurbanipal, that Assurbanipal had helped him. He is faithless, he sinned.

The two characterizations of Tammaritu demonstrate a change in the way Tammaritu was regarded by Assyria. In the first instance, Tammaritu was an unknown factor in Elamite politics; he had no obligations, real or perceived, to Assyria. His offence, his evil, was that he entered into the Babylonian rebellion of 652-648 on the side of Shamash-shum-ukin; Tammaritu's character is addressed with reference to his activities in that context. The second case reflects that the relationship between Tammaritu and Assurbanipal had become formalized. Tammaritu had sought sanctuary with Assurbanipal and had depended upon Assyrian troops to regain his throne. His offence lay in his failure to uphold his newly acquired obligations.

The characterization of Ummanaldas can be contrasted with that of Tammaritu. Ummanaldas is known simply as "king of Elam." There is no comment on his character, his sin, or rebellion. The only implied characterization is his cowardice; he is described as fleeing before the troops of Assyria. This comment is commonly used in describing the behavior of enemy kings in the face of the approach of Assyrian troops; it is a standard rather than personalized comment. Despite his appearance in two more episodes as an adversary of Assyria, Ummanaldas remains an elusive figure.

In general, Elam 4 appears to be a "mopping-up" operation. Its goals were three-fold. First was the punishment of those regions of Babylonia which joined the revolt against Assyria and the securing of these border regions. Second, Assyria attempted to duplicate her

previous policy of placing a "loyal" Elamite king on the throne of Elam, despite the fact that that policy had proven unsuccessful before and would prove so again. The final goal and perhaps the most important is left unstated in the annals since it was not realized until much later. The campaign was certainly undertaken in an attempt to capture the rebel, Nabu-bel-shumate, who continued to elude capture.

Date of the Campaign

The fourth campaign against Elam, first reported in edition K, took place, at least in part, prior to the composition of that edition dated to 647. Editions F and A state that the campaign began or took place in the month of Simanu (III). This means that the campaign followed closely on the heels of the Shamash-shum-ukin rebellion which probably concluded, at the latest, at the beginning of 647 (above p. 175).

ELAM 5: The Second Campaign against Ummaladas

Assurbanipal's final military campaign against Elam is recorded in two of the editions of the annals (F and A) and in the summary inscription T,¹⁴⁹ representing three recensions. The annals editions both give the campaign a *girru* number, six and eight respectively. Elam 5 is the sole campaign recorded in the summary inscription T.

Content of the *Girru* Accounts

F, is the first of the editions of the annals to preserve an account of this campaign. The account opens with a traditional abstract stating that Assurbanipal took the road against Ummaladas. The account goes on to say that having conquered Bit-Imbi in the district of Rashi in his previous campaign, he proceeds to conquer the entire district of Rashi and Hamanu in the north. No reasons are offered for renewing the campaign against Ummaladas. Ummaladas is described simply as "king of Elam." The evaluative clauses which usually describe the actions which provoked Assyrian hostility are absent (F iv 17-21):

In my sixth campaign, at the command of Assur and Ishtar, I called up my troops. I took the road against Ummaladas, king of Elam. Bit-Imbi, which in my previous campaign I conquered, now Rashi and Hamanu with its districts I conquered.

Ummaladas, in response to the Assyrian assault, left his northern stronghold, Madaktu, crossed the river Idide to the south and entered Dur-Undasi, making the river his line of defense.

Assurbanipal's troops continued their assault on the northern Elamite cities then turned south in pursuit of Ummanaldas. The list of cities conquered marks Assurbanipal's progress south through Elam until he reached the Idide. "Without delay" Assurbanipal crossed the river and captured Dur-Undasi. Before continuing the account of his march Assurbanipal summarizes his achievements (F iv 47-54):

14 strong cities, his royal dwelling, innumerable small cities, and 12 districts, all of which are in Elam, I conquered, I destroyed, I burned, I turned to tells and mounds. Without number I killed his heroes, with weapons I struck down his best warriors. Ummanaldas, king of Elam, in his nakedness fled, and took to the mountains.

The Assyrian army then proceeded south to Hidalu and Bashimu through the districts of Bununu, Tasarra, and Hunnir. Relating the pillaging of these towns, F notes first that the gods were smashed, then that they were deported along with the people to Assyria (F iv 61-64):¹⁵⁰

I smashed their gods. I calmed the heart of the lord of lords (Assur). His (Ummanaldas') gods, goddesses ... I brought to Assyria.

The notice of the deportation of the gods ends the account of the march through Elam and is followed by an account of the sack of Susa. Perhaps the most important occurrence in Assurbanipal's foreign relations and certainly of this campaign, the sack of Susa, is introduced by the phrase *ina tayyārtiya*, "on my return." Susa is described as "the great (cult) city, dwelling of their gods, place of their secrets." The description of the destruction and plundering of

the city is long and detailed. First, the treasure houses whose contents included Babylonian goods plundered in earlier Elamite campaigns to Babylonia, payments received from the kings of Akkad, and the goods of the palaces, were emptied. Attention turned then from plunder to destruction: the glazed bricks of the ziggurat were "plucked out" and its copper horns cut off.

Nineteen gods are listed, beginning with Shushinak, described as "god of their revelations, who dwells in a secret place, whose divine activities no one sees." The statues of these gods were removed and taken to Assyria along with their cultic paraphernalia and personnel. In addition, Assurbanipal plundered 32 statues of Elamite kings from Susa, Madaktu, and Huradi together with the statues of various Elamite kings.

The systematic destruction of the temples, the colossi, the sanctuaries, the plundering of the gods and goddesses, the violation and burning of the sacred groves, and the exhuming and exposing of the graves are described in detail.

Finally, the salting of the fields of Elam and the deportation of the people is described, and the account closes with a very poetic description of the devastation of the land (F v 68-71):

Wild asses, gazelles, all kinds of beasts of the plain, I made to lie down among them (the fields) as if at home. The noise of men, tread of cattle and small animals, the sound of sweet *alāla*-songs I banished from its fields.

The episode of the destruction of Susa is followed by the account of the return of the statue of Nanaya to Uruk. The account is not

introduced with any of the usual introductory phrases, but begins with the background information that 1,635 years earlier Nanaya had become angry and left Uruk to dwell in Elam, "a place not fitting for her." Here Assurbanipal introduces a motif of "old prophecy." At that time, Nanaya and the gods, her fathers, ordained that Assurbanipal would become king of the lands and that he would return her to her beloved city. Assurbanipal does not mention where the statue was found, but it was probably recovered from Susa.

Elam 5, in edition F, closes with the fulfillment of the prophecy: the return of Nanaya to Uruk and the presentation of the booty plundered from Elam to the various gods of Assyria and Assurbanipal's loyal troops.

The summary inscription T, composed in the same year and shortly after F (VI/646), contains a greatly abbreviated account. The military narration of the summary inscription T is devoted entirely to this campaign. The opening statement to the account is a summary of its conclusion (T iv 37-39): "With the encouragement of ... into the midst of Elam I entered, their defeat I accomplished, I marched victoriously." T abbreviates the opening lines of F's account (T iv 40-43): "Ummandalas feared the rising of my fierce battle, in his nakedness he fled, he took to the mountains."

Of the long list of Assurbanipal's conquests on the march though Elam given in F, only the summary statement remains (T iv 44-45): "14 strong cities...." Similarly the entire account of the sacking of Susa is omitted in T, only the reference to the salting of the fields of Elam is retained. The entire account of the return of Nanaya to her

sanctuary at Uruk is repeated verbatim from F, but the account of the disposition of the booty is omitted.

The account of edition A, the third recension, is almost identical to that of F but for a few additions. A dream message is inserted before the crossing of the river Idide. In contradiction to the account in F, A states that the soldiers did not wish to cross the river and only after receiving encouragement from Ishtar through a dream message did they proceed across the river:

F iv 46-47: 1 day, 2 days I did not remain. I did not await the rear-guard. On that day I crossed the river.

A v 95-103: My troops saw the river Idide.... They feared the crossing. Ishtar, who dwells in Arba'ili, that night, caused my troops to see a dream. Thus she spoke to them: "I shall go before Assurbanipal, the king, whom my hands created." Because of this dream my troops swam the Idide river; they crossed in safety.

A altered the order of the lines concerning the return of the fields of Elam to the wild beasts from that in F. The content remained the same, except for the addition of a single phrase: *ina kislimi ume 1.KAM*, "in the month of Kislimu, the first day."

The Organization of the Narrative

The structure of this *girru* account is very interesting. It is divided into three distinct parts: (1) the march though Elam, (2) the sack of Susa, and (3) the return of the statue of Nanaya to Uruk. The abstract to the account links this campaign closely with the preceding campaign. First the objective is stated to be the same, i.e.,

Ummanaldas. Second, the first line of the body of the narrative refers to Bit-Imbi, captured during the previous campaign. This same region is again the starting point for a campaign against Elam. Unlike the previous campaign, which was a two-pronged attack, this campaign represents the activities of a single army on a straight march through Elam from the north, entering at Der, and proceeding south and east.¹⁵¹

The account of the march through Elam is formulaic and repetitive. During the first part of the march, from Rashi to Dur-Undasi, the narrative follows the pattern for the conquest of individual cities within the bend of the river: "GN, his royal city, with its district, I conquered." Then, for the cities up to Dur-Undasi the pattern varies slightly becoming: "GN, his royal city, I conquered." The capture of Dur-Undasi receives only slightly more attention. The account maintains the pattern, "GN, his royal city, I conquered," and no additional detail regarding the assault itself is provided, but attention is focused on the attack of Dur-Undasi by the occurrence of an abstract which introduces the event (F iv 41-45):

With the encouragement of Assur and Istar I went down, I marched against Ummanaldas, king of Elam, who did not submit to my yoke.

In the course of my campaign Dur-Undasi, his royal city, I conquered.

The flow of the narrative is stopped at the crossing of the Idide river by the description of the crossing, as prompt (F), or delayed (A). After this the summary style of the narrative is resumed and relates the conquest of the cities to the south in a somewhat less formulaic manner. The section closes with a description of the fate of

the gods, people, and property of the region.

The monotonous, paratactic style of the narrative of Assurbanipal's march through Elam is certainly deliberate and serves to emphasize the relentless destruction of the cities of Elam and the lack of native opposition.¹⁵²

The account of the destruction of Susa is one of the most elaborate found in Assurbanipal's annals and stands in sharp contrast to the paratactic style of the first part of the narrative. The account places the sack of Susa at the conclusion of the entire campaign; it is stated to have occurred "on my return." This is surely a stylistic device; Susa was undoubtedly sacked at the time it was conquered, that is, during the march though Elam. The scribe apparently preferred not to interrupt the style of the first half of the narrative and therefore placed the description of the sack of Susa afterwards. This is shown clearly by the fact that the narrative, at this point, also includes statues removed from Madaktu and Huradi as well as Susa. It is unlikely that the army returned not only to Susa but also to Madaktu before turning south again to Uruk; the cities were certainly all sacked as they were conquered. It is also unlikely that the army would have simply left a conquered city untouched, thereby giving its occupants time to rescue their treasures.

Why the scribe chose to introduce the sack of Susa with the phrase "on my return" rather than with a phrase which would have more accurately indicated its appropriate place in the chronology of the campaign such as, "in the course of my campaign" or "at that time," is not immediately obvious. Perhaps the use of these latter phrases

lessened the impact of the event. The deliberate nature of the phrase "on my return" may have been used to give more emphasis to the already remarkable event. As shown above, these temporal phrases were often used to signal a change in topic as well as to indicate relative time.¹⁵³ This functional use of the phrase *ina tayyārtiye* should also be taken into consideration.

Yet another dimension to the use of this phrase may be found in the realization that the entire account of Elam 5 seems to bear a striking similarity to another composition: Sargon's "Letter to the God."¹⁵⁴

Sargon's letter belongs to a different literary genre. It is not a building inscription but a literary royal letter. The composition, substantially longer than this campaign account (430 lines compared to 124 in F), is divided into fifteen sections marked on the tablet by rulings. Oppenheim describes the overall structure of the text as follows:¹⁵⁵

... twelve of the sections begin with the same phrase and even with the same word (*ultu* "from"): "I moved from GN and reached GN," and thus are clearly meant to indicate the stages of the campaign. ...; monotonously they report on victories and destructions.... The recital of a succession of minor victories and largescale devastations is somewhat abruptly interrupted by the announcement (l. 309) that the army was on the march home. At that point, moreover, we find an important change of style: the reporting by stages is dropped and in one large section (ll. 309-414) an attack against Musasir, which held the temple of the national god of Urartu, and the conquest of that city is extensively recorded.

Thus, both Sargon's "Letter to the God" and Elam 5 are organized in a similar manner: following the address (of the "Letter") or abstract (of

the *girru*), the accounts use a paratactic, monotonous structure to narrate the march and record the destruction of various cities. Then, in a very large section, the destruction of a major, cultic city of a foreign land is described. Commenting further on this larger section, Oppenheim says:¹⁵⁶

...one may point out that <the report of the attack on Musasir> seems to have been placed in this position for reasons of style and effective presentation rather than because it belongs there chronologically.

Thus, Oppenheim concluded, the section describing the sack of Musasir was placed in its position in the narrative for reasons of style, just as it was concluded above that the placement of the account of the sack of Susa was for reasons of style. In addition, just as the sack of Susa was introduced by the phrase *ina tayyārtiya*, the account of the destruction of Musasir is also introduced by that same phrase.

Figure 6

STRUCTURE	ELAM 5	SARGON'S LETTER TO THE GOD
Opening statement and march to the main objective	Abstract Attack on northern Elam, flight of Ummanaldas south	Address March through Mannean territory
March and conquest: paratactic style of language	March through Elam: stylistic pattern = "GN, his royal city together with its district I conquered"	March through Urartu: stylistic pattern = "From GN ₁ . . . I departed . . . I reached GN ₂ "
Destruction of a foreign cult city; description begins with <i>ina tayyārtiya</i>	Destruction of Susa; deportation of Elamite gods	Destruction of Muşasir; deportation of Urartian gods
coda	Return of the Nanaya statue Return to Assyria	Summary of conquests Return to Assyria

The obvious structural similarity of the two compositions is complemented by the similarity of the content: both narratives deal with the destruction of a major cult center and the deportation to Assyria of the statues of the national gods of a people independent of Assyria.¹⁵⁷ The similarity between the two compositions is shown schematically in figure 6 (above).

The third and final section in the narrative of Assurbanipal's fifth campaign against Elam deals with the return of the statue of Nanaya from captivity in Elam to her appropriate place in Uruk.¹⁵⁸ There is no introductory phrase to this section of the narrative although it is an abrupt shift in subject. It begins with Nanaya's name and an explanation of her presence in Elam.¹⁵⁹ The explanation is the standard explanation for the loss of a goddess' statue: She became angry and abandoned her city.¹⁶⁰ "At that time," however, she had ordained that Assurbanipal would rescue her from "evil Elam." The prophecy is related in the narrative by direct quotation (F vi 4-5; A vi 113-114): "Thus: Assurbanipal from the midst of evil Elam shall bring me out; shall bring me into the midst of Eanna." This prophecy is revealed by "future" men. Assurbanipal fulfilled this prophecy by returning Nanaya to Uruk on the 1st of the month Kislimu (IX).

There are a substantial number of tablets found in the Kouyunjik collection which include the account of the return of the Nanaya statue to Uruk.¹⁶¹ These tablets are fragmentary and their genres are often not identifiable. Several of these texts feature accounts identical to that of the annals. A few, however, include variant information, and at least one focuses on the return of the Nanaya statue as the primary

motive for the campaign against Umanaldas.¹⁶²

The account of the return of the statue of Nanaya is connected to the previous narrative by closing with an account of the disposition of the booty from the entire campaign: the finest is distributed to the gods and the remainder to the army and the officials of Assyria. The story of the return of the statue of Nanaya forms the coda to the narrative, returning the reader to Assyria.

The close similarities in structure and content between Sargon's "Letter to the God" and the Elam 5 narrative provide an interesting addition to the ongoing discussion of the Assyrian attitude toward the destruction of temples and cult centers. Tadmor discussed the role of the autobiographical apology in Assyrian royal inscriptions,¹⁶³ noting a connection between the composition of an autobiographical apology and the designation of a successor. He discusses Assurbanipal's editions F and A, showing that they both contain an autobiographical apology and a recurring theme that revolves around the legitimacy of the king. This is reflected in an "old prophecy" motif in the introduction to the edition, in the episode of the return of the Nanaya statue, and finally, in the fact that this text commemorates the rebuilding of the Bit-reduti, the "house of succession." Tadmor concludes that the Nanaya episode, in addition to supporting the motif of legitimacy, itself forms a type of cultic apology rooted in the events of Elam 5, the destruction of Susa. The suggestion has also been made, some time ago, that Sargon's "Letter to the God" was just such a cultic apology.¹⁶⁴ The close correspondence between the content and form of Elam 5 and Sargon's "Letter to the God" demonstrated above must go

beyond mere accidental similarity. It suggests that the scribe of Elam 5 was at least aware of that earlier composition. It may possibly indicate also an even closer relationship between the form and the content itself: reports of the destruction of foreign cultic centers required a special and particular format. With only two accounts of such an event it is impossible to state this with any certainty but it is an interesting possibility to keep in mind.¹⁶⁵

The variations between the accounts of Elam 5 reveal other aspects concerning the recurring motif of legitimacy in editions F and A. Edition A's account, is largely identical, but includes several additions to F's account. Most interesting of these is the dream account which was inserted into the episode of the crossing of Idide river and the assault on Dur-Undasi. To understand the significance of these additions the content of the entire military narration section (consisting of all the *girru* accounts) of both editions F and A must be examined.

Edition F is overwhelmingly devoted to the recounting of the Elamite campaigns, omitting many *girru* accounts and episodes found in other editions. Most significantly, it omits the account of the Shamash-shum-ukin rebellion, which is found in the immediately preceding and succeeding editions. It is possible that the Shamash-shum-ukin rebellion was omitted from F because the removal of Shamash-shum-ukin may have weakened Assurbanipal's claim to legitimacy, since both Shamash-shum-ukin and Assurbanipal had been appointed by Esarhaddon to their respective thrones.

With edition A, composed some years later, and presumably some

years after Assurbanipal's own heir had been designated, it was apparently deemed acceptable to again include the account of the Shamash-shum-ukin rebellion with Elam 3. The new narrative of that *girru*, however, included at least two, new, theologically significant elements: a long list of gods wherever only one or two gods had appeared previously (this occurs throughout edition A), and an account of a dream message. This dream message has already been discussed as an important structural element in the narrative of Elam 3. It may also have had a second function: to offset the account of the deposing and especially the death of Shamash-shum-ukin.¹⁶⁸

The appearance of a dream message in the Elam 5 narrative of edition A, placed before the crossing of Idide and the assault on the city of Dur-Undasi, itself an important cult center, may also have been intended to offset the possible sin of destroying a cult center. Thus, in both cases in edition A the dream message may have served an apologetic function.

Date of the Campaign

The phrase "in a month of days," found in the closing section of A's narrative, suggests that the military campaign proper lasted only a month. Also according to edition A, the Nanaya statue was returned to Uruk on the 1st of Kislimu (IX). The campaign, therefore, should have begun approximately 4 to 6 weeks earlier, allowing for 10 days to enter Elam and 10 days to return to Babylonia, thus beginning at about the middle of the month of Tashritu (VII).

The earliest account of this *girru* was composed for edition F

whose earliest exemplar carries a date in the month of Iyyar (II), the eponym year of Nabu-shar-ahhesu (646). Therefore the campaign must have concluded, at the latest, in Kislimu (IX) of 647, and must have begun very shortly after the conclusion of the preceding campaign, Elam 4, which began in Simanu (III) of that same year.

General Discussion

Elam 5 was the last military campaign directed against Elam to be reported in Assurbanipal's annals. There were, however, several additional episodes which followed that campaign and were reported in edition A. These events are reported as two separate episodes and in two separate sections. The first follows immediately after the account of Elam 5 (A vii 9-81). It is not separated in any way from the preceding narrative and is not itself a separate *girru*. The second episode is narrated after the Arab *girru* and is part of a type of summary of the events of Assurbanipal's campaigns in the south and east (A x 6-39).

The first episode begins with the name of Ummaladas, king of Elam, and relates that Ummaladas, after fleeing the troops of Assurbanipal, once again returned to his fortress city, Madaktu. Assurbanipal wrote to Ummaladas demanding the return of the rebel, Nabu-bel-shumate, who was still at large in Elam. The account reports that Nabu-bel-shumate, fearing that Ummaladas would indeed comply with Assurbanipal's request, together with his "personal attendant" ran each other through with their swords. Ummaladas returned the body of Nabu-bel-shumate to Assurbanipal.

In a curious shift in topic, one Pa'e, described as he "who ruled in Elam in Ummanaldas' stead," is reported to have fled Elam and submitted to Assurbanipal along with other refugees. This is followed immediately by the account of the Arab *girru*.

The second episode concerning Ummanaldas appears after the narration of the campaigns against the Arabs (Arabs 1 and 2 = the ninth *girru*). It is reported that the land revolted against Ummanaldas who, once again, escaped to the mountains where Assurbanipal hunted, captured, and deported him to Assyria. Following this is a kind of summary of the foreign kings who submitted to him: three kings of Elam, Tammaritu, Pa'e, and Ummanaldas, and the king of the Arabs, Uaite. The king of Urartu, Ishtar-duri, is reported to have sent formal "greetings" to Assurbanipal.

There are two other accounts of these events:¹⁶⁷ a relief with its accompanying epigraph from room M, the throneroom, and another relief and epigraph from room S¹ in the North palace of Assurbanipal. A relief of room M depicts the capture of an Elamite king. He is shown being led, by the hand, down a mountain and then further to the right he is shown in a cart surrounded by soldiers. Above this scene is an epigraph which reports that the Elamite king is Ummanaldas and that he was captured in Murubisu by the Ellipians and removed to Assyria.¹⁶⁸ This visual account confirms the capture of Ummanaldas and also shows that he was not captured by the Assyrian army.

The second relief and epigraph from room S¹ may be seen as the visual equivalent to the second episode given in edition A. The relief depicts two Elamite kings bearing food and walking toward the king,

reclining on a couch, and his seated queen in a garden. The epigraph reports, "[...] the kings of Elam ... [...] they prepared their royal meal with their own hands and they brought it [before me]."¹⁶⁹ These two Elamite kings should be identified as two of the three captured Elamite kings: Tammaritu, Ummanaldas, and Pa'e.

The capture of Ummanaldas must have taken place between the composition of editions F and A, that is between 646 and 643. There is no additional information concerning Pa'e.¹⁷⁰ He was perhaps a local king who ruled during one of Ummanaldas' several absences.

The remarks about Nabu-bel-shumate refer to Assyria's continuing efforts to capture the rebel. As noted in an earlier discussion this is the only reference to that rebel in edition A and is the last of only three in any of the editions of the annals. This situation stands in contrast to the rather large amount of space devoted to him in the royal correspondence.

Only four letters are mentioned here, each can be dated to the period after Elam 5 and gives an outline of events leading to Nabu-bel-shumate's death. They record Bel-ibni's continuing efforts to capture Nabu-bel-shumate and may also record some of the negotiations with Ummanaldas.

ABL 462, written by Bel-ibni, reports to Assurbanipal that he sent an ultimatum (to whom is not clear) demanding the return of Nabu-bel-shumate and other fugitives (*ABL 462* rev. 6-10):

If you do not seize Nabu-bel-shumate, [...] and the messengers of Shamash-shum-ukin, speedily, and send them to me ...[] all of you I shall destroy.

ABL 792, written by Bel-ibni to the king reports that Elam is willing to relinquish Nabu-bel-shumate (*ABL 792 obv. 5-15*):

On the sixth day of Shebatu (XI), Ummān-shibar (and) Bel-upahhir, son of Marduk-shum-ibni, his confederate--concerning their message I spoke before the king my lord--have sent a confidential message saying, "These words in full send to the palace: 'Now Elam has sent their messenger to the king of Assyria with this message saying, "What is the sin which we have committed against you?" In regard to all this you should send to us (a report).' " and he has written further: "Elam desires to give over Nabu-bel-shumate to Assyria rather than in shame [...]."

Assuming that this letter should be dated to the period after the Shamash-shum-ukin rebellion, the mention of the month name Shebatu (XI) in this letter should indicate that the letter dates to 647 at the earliest and thus follows Elam 5 which concluded in Kislimu (IX) of 647.

ABL 281 also from Bel-ibni, records a point somewhat later in time. It is dated by the reference to Ummānaldas, "who fled and then came back and took the throne. Because he feared, Ummānaldas abandoned Madaktu. He removed his mother, his wife, his children and all his family, he crossed the Ulaya to the south and proceeded to the city of Talah."¹⁷¹ This reference dates the event to during or after Elam 5. Following this is the statement that one Ummān-shibar has also fled to the city of Haidalu. Thus it must date to sometime after *ABL 792* and therefore during early 646.

The body of this letter reports the circumstances by which Nabu-bel-shumate has been captured by Ummānaldas and reports a statement spoken by the king of Elam that indicates his willingness to deliver Nabu-bel-shumate to Assyria (*ABL 281 obv. 23-31*):

"When Ummanaldas entered Madaktu, having assembled all his confederates, stated his charge against them thus, 'Was not this the word I spoke to you before I fled, that I wished to seize Nabu-bel-shumate, that I might deliver him to the king of Assyria, that he might not send his troops against us? You did not listen to me. You are witness to my words."

The letter goes on to describe the arrangements by which the king of Assyria may recover Nabu-bel-shumate.

The situation was apparently resolved by 26/IV/646, the date of a letter written from Ummanaldas to Assurbanipal (*ABL* 879 obv. 7-9):

You sent forces saying: "Send Nabu-bel-shumate to me." I have siezed Nabu-bel-shumate (and) I have sent him to you.

A very fragmentary letter refers to the sending of a salted body and may also refer to this incident since the annals report that Nabu-bel-shumate's body was preserved in salt and then returned to Assurbanipal (*ABL* 1284 rev. 9):

We have siezed him, we have se[nt him]
 The messenger of the king of Assyria
 ... of Nabu-bel-shumate
 ...
 a body in salt x[]

It is interesting to note that despite the dominance of the search for Nabu-bel-shumate as a subject in the royal correspondence there is only brief mention of him in the annals. Nabu-bel-shumate is first mentioned in edition B/D in connection with the Shamash-shum-ukin rebellion. Further mention is made of him in the succeeding edition C

in connection with an ultimatum sent to the Elamite king Indabibi demanding Nabu-bel-shumate's return to Assyria. These references drop out of edition F's account and Nabu-bel-shumate is not mentioned again until the notice of his capture in edition A. Undoubtedly the inability of the Assyrians to capture the rebel was a source of embarrassment to them and his name was excised from the accounts until they succeeded in capturing him.¹⁷²

FIGURE 7: Sources for the Elamite *Girru*

The sources for each campaign account in each edition are listed below.

Elam 1 B *AS* 5 56-61, iv 18-86
 D *AS* 5 97
 K Tadmor, *OrNS* 50 (1981) 238
 H Nassouhi, *AfK* 2 102

Elam 2 B *AS* 5 60-77, iv 87-vii 2
 D *AS* 5 97
 K Tadmor, *OrNS* 50 (1981) 238
 C Bauer, *IMA* 16
 F Aynard, *Prisme* 38-43, ii 53-iii 5
 A Streck *Asb.* 26-29, iii 27-69
 IT Thompson, *AAA* 20 (1933), lines 102, 105-107

Elam 3 B *AS* 5 78-81, vii 3-92
 D *AS* 5 97
 K Tadmor, *OrNS* 50 (1981) 238
 C Bauer, *IMA* 17
 F Aynard, *Prisme* 42-45, iii 6-32
 A Streck, *Asb.* 28-41, iii 70-iv 109
 H? Millard, *Iraq* 30 (1968) 109
 IT Thompson, *AAA* 20 (1933), lines 110-113

Elam 4 K Tadmor, *OrNS* 50 (1981) 238
 C Knudsen, *Iraq* 29 (1967), figs. 19-20
 F Aynard, *Prisme* 44-49, iii 33-iv 16
 A Streck, *Asb.* 40-47, iv 110-v 62

Elam 5 K? Tadmor, *OrNS* (1981) 238?
 F Aynard, *Prisme* 48-61, iv 17-vi 21
 T Thompson, *PEA* iv 37-v32
 A Streck, *Asb.* 41-61, v 63-vii 8
 H? Millard, *Iraq* 30 (1968) 109
 IT Thompson, *AAA* 20 (1933), lines 102-104

After- A Streck, *Asb.* 60-63, vii 9-81
 math IT Thompson, *AAA* 20 (1933), lines 107-110
 A Streck, *Asb.* 82-85 x 6-39
 IT Thompson, *AAA* 20 (1933), line 118

ENDNOTES

1. For the reading of Urtak's name without case endings see Brinkman, *Prelude* 79 n. 381. Hinz, *Elam* 152 suggests the Elamite form of Urtak's name as Ur-tak-Inshushinak.
2. All line references in the text refer to the following standard publications: HT, Streck, *Asb.* 158-175; B, *AS* 5 19-94; D, *AS* 5 95-99; F, Aynard, *Prisme*; A, Streck, *Asb.* 2-91; and IT, Thompson, *AAA* 20 (1933) 79-113. References to individual lines in editions E, K, C, and H are noted by tablet and publication. See below Figure 7 for a list of sources for this and all other *girru* accounts.
3. Te-Uman, believed to be Elamite Tepti-Humban-Inshushinak (Cameron, *HEI* 186; König, *Inschriften* 79-85), is always written Te-um-man indicating that the vowels were pronounced separately.
4. The variants between the four editions are largely orthographic or very minor (cf. notes to Piepkorn, *AS* 5). This account is only rarely preserved on inscriptions on clay tablets; cf. Bauer, *IWA* 55-58, 63-64.
5. H₁ is published in Nassouhi, *AfK* 2 (1924-1925) 97-106.
6. No other abstracts for the other campaigns recorded in H are preserved in the extant portions of H.
7. The account in the annals uses the words *sunqu*, and *nibrītu*, for famine and hunger while H uses an expanded vocabulary: *sunqu*, *hušahhu*, *nibrītu*, *unṣu*, and *bubūtu*.
8. The text is broken at this line, it reads *la áš-[x]-tu ina libbiya*. The verb may be restored from št, to fear. But there is no idiom "to fear in my heart." št meaning to pull away, withdraw is possible, but this verb never takes the preposition *ina* in the expression "to become angry (lit. to withdraw one's heart); see Oppenheim, *JAOS* 61 (1941) 264. It is also possible to read áš instead of as as the verb šbt for the idiom *sabātu ina libbiya*, "to take seriously" (*CAD* § 24). The idiom fits the meaning of this sentence well but, as is an unusual reading for the sign and all occurrences of this idiom are from Amarna, Bogazköy or are literary. Whichever verb is selected the basic meaning of the sentence is clear: Assurbanipal did not expect Urtak to rebel against the treaty.
9. Fales, in *Mesopotamien und seine Nachbarn*, Band 2 425-436. Notice also the parallel construction of these epithets: Who did not heed the treaty/ Who did not guard the friendship/ Whose rebellion I did not ponder/ Of whose quarrel I was not aware/ Toward whom I was not hostile/ Whose words I did not take seriously."
10. Sollberger, *JCS* 11 (1957) 62.

11. References to the earlier peaceful, arrangement with Urtak and his rebellion after receiving aid during the famine appears also in two of Assurbanipal's letters from a later date: *ABL* 295 from Assurbanipal to the Rashians (obv. 4-11): "Why do I favor Elam? I favor my treaty friend and I do not shame my enemy. To all I do kindness but they have done evil to me. In the beginning, in the days of Urtak, when there was famine in Elam [...]." And *ABL* 1260 from Assurbanipal to Ambappi and the Rashians (obv. 5-6): "At the beginning, when there was a treaty in Elam, they did not return my favors."

12. Campaigns in progress were not usually included in the annals. Cf. *HT* which records part of the second Egyptian campaign (*HT* obv. 67-rev. 6).

13. Grayson, *TCS* 5, Chron. 15 2-3.

14. Rm.281 = Bauer, *IWA*. 56 Vs. 5-8 with possible duplicates DT.257(p. 61), K.2656 + 3076 (p. 65), and K.3098 + 4450 (pp. 55-56).

15. Even the domestic garrisons would have been considerably weakened by the defection of Nabu-shum-eresh at Nippur; Brinkman, *Power and Propaganda* 235.

16. This figure is based on estimates by Eph'al, in *HHI* 88-106. When the Assyrian king declares himself to be in a particular location in an annals account, it need not be taken to refer to the location of the king himself but rather may refer to the location of the Assyrian army. Thus edition B which declares the king to be in Assyria need not actually conflict with the statement of Rm.281 that declares the king to be in Egypt. Cf. Brinkman, *Prelude* 87 n. 423.

17. Grayson follows the evidence of Rm.281 in his dating of this campaign in *ZA* 70 (1980) 230.

18. The resolution to this campaign is not as clearly stated as one might expect. It is stated that Urtak was defeated but the resolution of the matter from the point of view of the other rebels depends upon when they died. Thus, if the death of Urtak and his companions occurred some years after the campaign, the Assyrians might have ignored the entire event until there had been some type of resolution, i.e., the death of the protagonists. Compare the situation in Lydia: Gyges broke his ties with Assyria, probably sometime during the mid-650's (above p. 43 and n. 100). Yet the account of this rebellion was not included in the current editions B, D, K, C and F. The account does not appear until edition A in 643, which records the death of Gyges and the submission of his son to Assyria. The death of Gyges at the hands of the Cimmerians forms a type of resolution, even a kind of poetic justice; Gyges submitted out of fear of the Cimmerians, revolted when he felt secure, and then died at Cimmerian hands.

19. NBC 6142: cited in Brinkman and Kennedy, *JCS* 35 (1983) 21 and

Brinkman, *Prelude* 87 n. 423. Cf. Frame, *Babylonia*, 106-107 n. 5.

20. Brinkman, *Prelude* 92 n. 455 and Frame, *Babylonia* 108 and n. 1. Nippur reverted to Babylonian control by 660, as shown by HS 454 (as cited in Brinkman and Kennedy, *JCS* 35 [1983] 27) which is dated at Nippur to 19/I/8th year of Shamash-shum-ukin.

21. Rm.281 contains historical references to a later Elamite campaign (Elam 5) in 647 and therefore must have been composed sometime after that campaign, hence some 20 years after Urtak's invasion.

22. Assurbanipal was probably also engaged in Egypt in 664. Cf. Grayson, *ZA* 70 (1980) 281 and n. 14.

23. Grayson, *TCS* 5, Chron. 1 iv 11-13, Chron. 14 17-18.

24. Borger, *Asarh.* 58-59, ep. 19.

25. Borger, *Asarh.* 52-53, ep. 13.

26. Cameron, *HEI* 168; Stolper, *Elam* 49.

27. Below pp. 137 and 149ff.

28. Te-Umman himself claims a different ancestry calling himself the son of Shilhak-Inshushinak (König, *Inschriften* 79-85) which makes Te-Umman, if directly related at all, a cousin. The question of succession in Elam has been discussed, though not resolved, several times in the past. In the earlier period of the Sukkal-mahs (1900-1500) there seems to have been a fratriarchal arrangement for the succession. The Sukkal-mah was succeeded by the Sukkal of Elam and Simashki, usually a brother or a cousin who was in turn succeeded in the latter's office by the Sukkal of Suse, usually a son or nephew of the original Sukkal-mah. In the most recent discussion of the subject, Yusifov (*Acta Antiqua* 22 [1974] 321-332) argues for a dynastic system at other periods. For other discussions of succession in Elam see: Cameron, *HEI* 71-72; Hinz, *OrNS* 32 (1963) 1-2; Hinz, *CAH* 2/1 (1973) 257-258; Börker-Klähn, *Untersuchungen zur altelamischen Archäologie* (1970) 182, and Stolper, *Elam* 24-25. Te-Umman is discussed more fully in the discussion of the following Elamite campaign (Elam 2), below pp. 135ff.

29. The letters *ABL* 576, 917, 1114, and 1131, usually taken to refer to the same event(s), were erroneously dated to the beginning of Assurbanipal's reign by Cameron (*HEI* 185-187). They probably belong to Esarhaddon's reign, see Dietrich, *AOAT* 7 39-50 and Brinkman *Prelude* 82 and n. 398.

30. For Gambulu in association with Elam during the Shamash-shum-ukin rebellion see Frame, *Babylonia* 120 and at other periods p. 106 n. 2.

31. *ABL* 541, 336; cf. Brinkman, *Prelude* 78 and n. 377.

32. Egypt 1 took place in 667 and Egypt 2 concluded in 663. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt 393-394*, 148 n. 271.

33. The campaign against Tyre took place c. 662; cf. Grayson, *ZA* 70 (1980) 230-231.

34. *ABL* 328, obv. 10-15.

35. Babylon was besieged by Assyrian forces during the reign of Sennacherib and held out for more than 15 months (Brinkman, *Prelude*, 64-65; Frame, *Babylonia* 63-64). Assurbanipal's seige of Babylon began on 11/IV/650 (Grayson, *TCS* 5, Chron. 15 19) but the city did not fall until sometime between 30/V/648 and 1/647 (Brinkman, *Prelude*, 100 and n. 504; Frame, *Babylonia* 165, 166-7), that is, more than 2 years later.

36. Brinkman, *Prelude* 76 and nts. 372 and 373.

37. Brinkman, *Prelude* 80 and n. 391. Note also that there were other disturbances recorded in the Babylonian Chronicles (Grayson, *TCS* 5, Chron. 1 iv 9-10) for the year 671.

38. Frame, *Babylonia* 125.

39. B iv 54-68.

40. Above p. 123 and n. 18. According to Brinkman, Nabu-shum-eresh remained in office in Nippur (*Prelude* 92).

41. Below p. 154. Some type of military action, the nature of which is unknown, was apparently contemplated against Gambulu in 658; see Knudtzon, *Gebete* 158.

42. Grayson, *ZA* 70 (1980) 230-231.

43. Donner, *MIO* 5 (1957) 155-184.

44. Sennacherib, in 701, placed Bel-ibni described as *piri' Šuanna Ša kīma mīrāni šabri qereb ekalliya irbū*, "scion of Babylon who like a young dog, grew up in my palace," on the throne in Babylon. A letter from Urtak to the Assyrian king indicates that there were Elamite princes in Assyria (*ABL* 918). After an unsuccessful rebellion against Assyria Na'id-Marduk, a grandson of Merodach-Baladan, submitted to Esarhaddon and was rewarded with the governorship of his native Sealand (Brinkman, *Prelude* 72). Assurbanipal placed a young Arabian princess resident at Esarhaddon's court as queen among her people (Heidel Prism ii 46-iii 2 [*Sumer* 12 (1956) 9-38]; cf. Eph'al, *Arabs* 123-127). Also Necho of Sa'is after rebelling against Assyria in the first of Assurbanipal's Egyptian campaigns reached an understanding with Assurbanipal and took up his throne once again in Sais (HT Vs. 51ff.). For a discussion of foreign princes at the Assyrian court as hostages of rebellious lands see also Parpola, *Iraq* 34 (1972) 34 and n. 66.

45. See Figure 8. Only edition B (iv 87) preserves a *girru* number. The summary inscription H may include an account of this campaign also; see above Chapter Two, p. 73 and n. 247. A fragment in the collection of the University of Chicago (A 8105 col. a; unpub.) may preserve a small portion of the end of the campaign noting Tammaritu's placement on the throne of Hidalu.

46. Edition F lists Elam 2 as the fourth *girru*; edition A as the fifth. IT contains only a fragmentary reference to this campaign: IT 102.

47. Above Chapter Two, pp. 82ff. There are eight captions preserved for these six slabs; see Appendix A: Room 33.

48. Paterson, *PS*, pl. 62; Appendix A: Room 33 slab 2.

49. Paterson, *PS*, pl. 62; Appendix A: Room 33 slab 1.

50. Weidner, *AfO* 8 (1932-1933), Nr. 7.

51. Weidner, *AfO* 8 (1932-1933), Nr. 6: *[Tammaritu] mār Te-Umman Šar māt Elamti ša ina ṭabdē ipparšidu naplahtašu išbuṭa ana abi bānišu išassu kuššid lā takalla*, "Tammaritu, son of Te-Umman, king of Elam, who fled in battle tore his shirt, cries out to his father, his sire: 'hurry, do not delay.'"

52. Appendix A: Room 33 slab 3; Weidner, *AfO* 8 (1932-1933), Nr. 7a.

53. Appendix A: Room 33 slab 3.

54. Appendix A: Room 33 slab 5.

55. Appendix A: Room 33 slab 5; see also Weidner, *AfO* 8 (1932-1933) 186 (Rm.2 364) and 188 (Sm.1350).

56. Appendix A: Room 33 slab 6.

57. Reade, *BaM* 11 (1980) 99-100.

58. Appendix A: Room I slab 1-2[?]. This same scene without the epigraph may also be seen on the Room 33 reliefs; cf. Reade, *BaM* 10 (1979) 25 and pl. 2.

59. Appendix A: Room I slab 9; Barnett, *Sculptures*, pls. XXV-XXVI.

60. Weidner, *AfO* 8 (1932-1933), Nr. 2. The name Simburu also occurs in a letter (*ANL* 1380) from Assurbanipal to Menanu and refers to Elamite affairs at a later period (time of Ummagash and Tammaritu I). He may be the same person (obv.4-8): "Simbur to whom you showed kindness and caused to take an oath and who then sinned against your oath...."

61. Weidner, *AfO* 8 (1932-1933), Nr. 3 and 186 (Rm.364, K.1914+). Umbakidinu is mentioned in three letters (*ABL* 425, 775, 777) but in economic/trade contexts and cannot be identified as the same man who is mentioned in this epigraph.

62. Weidner, *AfO* 8 (1932-1933), Nr. 3. The name Zineni is mentioned in a letter (*ABL* 576) which probably dates to an earlier period (above p. 131, n. 29) in association with Te-Umman and may be the same person.

63. Weidner, *AfO* 8 (1932-1933), Nr. 20 and Appendix A: Room I slab 9. The account of the campaign against Gambulu mentions that Mannu-ki-ahhe and Nabu-usalli were slain in Arba-ili (B vi 84-85).

64. Mayr, "The Lunar Eclipse of July 13, 653 B.C.," appendix to *AS* 5 (1933) 105-109.

65. Note the remarks of Reade in Walker and Reade, *AfO* 28 (1981-1982) 120-122. Reade would prefer a higher date for the campaign, pointing out that the Elamites were able to join in the Shamash-shum-ukin rebellion the very next year.

66. Note the passages in several letters which indicate that a lunar eclipse of the morning watch pertains to Elam (Parpola, *LAS* 2 407).

67. Hinz, *CAH* 2/1 259; Brinkman, *Prelude* 29 n. 141.

68. Te-Umman is quoted as intending to attack Assyria (below p. 136).

69. Oppenheim, *Dreams*.

70. Oppenheim, *Dreams* 201.

71. K.2652, published in *3R*, pl. 16, no. 4; Streck, *Asb.* 188-195 with Bauer, *IMA* 45 n. 8, is an inscription dedicated to Ishtar. The inscription duplicates much of the account of the campaign against Te-Umman, from the theophany and dream message to the battle itself.

72. Oppenheim, *Dreams* 201.

73. For a similar problem of conflicting information received by the king see below the account of the Shamash-shum-ukin rebellion in edition A (Elam 3), in which Assurbanipal accuses Shamash-shum-ukin of deliberately spreading "disinformation"; below p. 163 and n. 96.

74. There are two letters from the royal correspondence which report on Elamite military activity in Bit-Imbi: *ABL* 1063 and *ABL* 781. *ABL* 1063 reports that the king of Elam is in Bit-Imbi and gives a date, the 14th of Kislimu (IX). *ABL* 781, dated to the 13th of Tammuzu (IV), reports that the *nägir ekalli* and all the troops of upper Elam are in Bit-Imbi. Neither of these letters can be positively identified with this incident, however. See also the comments of Brinkman, *JNES* 24 (1965) 162 n. 12.

75. Stolper, *Elam* 50.

76. Brinkman, *Prelude* 92.

77. Additional discussion of this incident appears below pp. 252ff. The difference between placing Necho on his throne in Egypt and Ummagash on the throne in Elam is an important one. In 667, at the time of the Necho's rebellion Assyria had control of Egypt; it was therefore a client state. In addition Necho was the legitimate ruler of Sais in Egypt. Thus Assurbanipal was merely returning him to his rightful place. Elam, however, was not a client state and it is unknown whether or not Ummagash was the rightful heir to his father Urtak. The issue of legitimacy, in fact, may explain why Urtak's rebellion (Elam 1) was treated so lightly; Assurbanipal wanted to leave the impression that he was merely returning Ummagash to his rightful place, as son of the previous king, Urtak.

78. Appendix A: Room 33 slab 6.

79. Weidner, *AFO* 8 (1932-1933), Nr. 17 and Room 33, slab 5 (see Appendix A).

80. See Appendix: Room I, slab 9.

81. Cameron, *HEI* 190; Stolper, *Elam* 50 and n. 40. None of the subsequent references to Ummagash, (Elam 3) mention his capital city. Atta-hamitti-inshushinak (König, *Inschriften* 172 86.1.) may have disappeared from the throne in Susa very quickly since Tammaritu II, ruled there during the Shamash-shum-ukin rebellion a few years later. (below pp. 177ff.).

82. Highly centralized bureaucratic governments such as Assyria tended to deal with any polity they encountered as though it too were centralized. The decentralization that occurred with the instability of the throne in Elam is evident as early as the reign of Sennacherib, when the Elamite kings abandoned Susa for the more defensible strongholds of Madaktu and Hidalu; cf. Stolper, *Elam* 47. This situation may have provoked Assyria to impose a kind of centralization or stability on the region by placing friendly kings in power. For the effect of Assyria on tribal (decentralized) society see Brown, *JCS* 38 (1986) 107-109.

83. If A 8105 (unpub.) does represent a fragment of the summary inscription H, then this phrase is replaced by *ina m̄etiq girriya*; cf. also IT 105-107).

84. Weidner, *AFO* 8 (1932-1933), Nr. 18.

85. Knudtzon, *Gebete* 153 (K. 11446).

86. Probably also represented in H: BM 127994, part of one face of a

prism is written in Neo-Babylonian script and thus may belong to the only edition known to be written in Neo-Babylonian script, the summary inscription H. It preserves part of nine lines, similar to the final lines of the account in edition C (cf. Millard, *Iraq* 30 [1968] 109 and pl. XXIV). See also n. 93.

The summary inscription IT makes only a brief mention of Elam 3 and the Shamash-shum-ukin rebellion. Unlike the other inscriptions, IT separates the two campaigns, narrating all the Elamite campaigns then narrating the Shamash-shum-ukin rebellion (IT 110-113).

87. See below p. 176.

88. Indabibi or Indabigash. I transcribe Indabibi following the comments of Stolper and Reiner, as noted in Brinkman, *Prelude* 101 n. 506.

89. These troops were sent to aid Nabu-bel-shumate at the beginning of the revolt. Nabu-bel-shumate then defected and imprisoned them.

90. B, in general, seems to mark the beginning of new *girru* accounts by a line drawn across the column of the prism. The account concerning the Arabs is also not given a *girru* number.

91. This account in K is represented by K.1703 col. d, (Winckler, *SKT* 3 76-78) and cf. Cogan and Tadmor, *OrNS* 50 (1981) 229-240.

92. After the account of the revolt against and the flight of Tammaritu there is a lacuna. Tammaritu's arrival and sanctuary in Assyria may or may not have been included in the account though there seems to be ample space to accommodate it in the break.

93. The lines are fragmentary and it is unclear whether or not Unmanaldas took the throne himself or whether Assurbanipal placed him on the throne. In the three exemplars (K.1794 [Bauer, *IWA*, pl. 12 col. ix 94-95]; ND 4306 [Knudsen, *Iraq* 29 (1967), pl. XIV, col. a 8-9]; and BM 127994 [Millard, *Iraq* 30 (1968), pl. XXIV, 4-5]) which preserve these lines the verb is missing and it is possible to restore either *ušešib*, I made him sit or *ušib*, he sat. Attametu may be Atta-hamitti-Inshushinak who ruled in Susa; above n. 81.

94. C: K.1794 (Bauer, *IWA*, pl. 12 col. ix 74-95); 81-2-4, 172 (Bauer, *IWA*, pl. 56 col. b 3-12); and ND 5519 (Knudsen, *Iraq* 29 (1967), pl. XXIII col. d).

95. It is possible to consider this section as a coda to the Gambulu *girru*, however, for reasons that will be given later (below pp. 173ff.), I prefer to apply the term "orientation" to this section.

96. A iii 82-85: "The Babylonians who were loyal to Assyria, servants faithful to me, he deceived. He spoke lies to them. He sent them to me, to Nineveh, with deception in mind, to ask my health."

97. A iii 136-138.

98. See below "Date"; the Shamash-shum-ukin rebellion had certainly ended by II/647, the date of the first text dated to the reign of Kandalanu who succeeded Shamash-shum-ukin in Babylonia.

99. For the Elam 3/Babylon account in K see: K.1703 col. d (Winckler, SKT 3 76-78) which provides an account of Tammaritu II's activities that is entirely unlike any other. BM 134436 col. a (Thompson, *Iraq* 7 [1940] no. 34 and Cogan and Tadmor, *ORNS* 50 [1981] 231) relates the famine in Babylonia (identical to C's account) and the beginning of the account of Indabibi's alliance with Assurbanipal.

100. F iii 9: "[Ummānigash] ... itti Šamaš-Šum-ukin abī nakri ittadin pīšu" and iii 14-15 "ana rešūti Šamaš-Šum-ukin ... illikamma." The omission of the Babylon *girru* in edition F is discussed below pp. 243-245.

101. A iii 70.

102. A iii 118.

103. A iii 128.

104. A iii 136.

105. A iv 41.

106. Talmon, *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 27 (1978) 9-26. Berlin, *Poetics and Interpretation of Biblical Narrative* 74-79.

107. The "chronological linkage" in the Elam 3/Babylon account of the editions appears in the Elamite sections of the accounts only. In B, there are three such references: vii 7, 27-28, and 49-50. In F, there are two: iii 9, and 14-15.

108. C is represented by K.1794 (Bauer, *IWA*. 16) col. vii (121).

109. C is represented by K.1794 (Bauer, *IWA*. 17) col. ix (54) and ND 814 (Wiseman, *Iraq* 13 [1951] 25) line 16.

110. ABL 301.

111. Date of last tablet dated by Shamash-shum-ukin in Babylon; cf. Brinkman and Kennedy, *JCS* 35 (1983) 36 (K.143).

112. First text dated to Kandalanu; cf. Brinkman and Kennedy, *JCS* 35 (1983) 39 (L.1).

113. The last year the Akitu festival was omitted was in 648 (Grayson, *TCS* 5, Chron. 16 24); cf. Brinkman, *Prelude* 100 n. 502.

114. For the date of edition C see above p. 65.

115. Grayson, *TCS* 5, Chron. 16 14; for a discussion see Frame, *Babylonia*, Appendix C.

116. *ABL* 289 records the appointment of Bel-ibni in the Sealand on this date. *ABL* 282 and 284 record that it was to Bel-ibni that Tammaritu and his family fled and then they were sent to Assyria.

117. Above p. 17 and n. 23.

118. Grayson, *TCS* 5, Chron. 16 11.

119. K.3062 iii 1 (Streck, *Asb.* XXXVII, 214).

120. K.1364 Vs. 14 (CT 35 48, Bauer, *IMA* 51-53); K.2631+ (3R, pl. 38 1, Streck, *Asb.* 182-183 Vs. 34).

121. The Assyrians never refer to Tammaritu II as the one "who I placed for kingship in Hidalu, for whom I had done many favors etc." as they do with Ummaligash (above p. 158).

122. *ABL* 1151, a letter addressed from Assurbanipal to Indabibi, king of Elam, preserves only the introductory greetings and the date in the *lusu* of Ahu-li'i (= Ahilayya), 649.

123. Edition K is usually considered to have been composed earlier than edition C (above pp. 62-63) but the edition is too fragmentary at the point which deals with Indabibi to know whether or not Indabibi's removal from the throne was included in this edition.

The fact that edition C isolates the Indabibi account at the end of the entire narrative of the campaign, after the famine in Babylonia, suggests that the campaign against Indabibi took place after the fall of Babylon and was part of a mopping-up expedition to capture those rebels, especially Nabu-bel-shumate (see below p. 194), who had taken refuge in Elam sometime earlier.

124. BM 134436 col. b (Thompson, *Iraq* 7 [1940] no. 34; Cogan and Tadmor, *OrNS* 50 [1981] 233-234) and A 8111 col. a (unpub.; cf. *OrNS* 50 [1981] 237). This is the highest number assigned to a *girru* account in Assurbanipal's annals; edition A records only nine *girru*.

125. K: BM 134436 col. b and A 8111; above n. 124.

126. This portion of the Bit-Imbi campaign in edition C is preserved only on ND 4306 (Knudsen, *Iraq* 29 [1967], pl. XIV). I am not entirely convinced that this fragment belongs to edition C though it certainly belongs to a similar text. If it does represent C then C assigns this campaign a *girru* number (broken away) and the traces suggest that the abstract was similar to K's (Figure 5 and below n. 131). The only other exemplar of C which preserves this campaign does not preserve the opening but rather breaks off just before it should begin and preserves

a line drawn across the column at that point.

127. See below p. 186 and n. 134.

128. Edition F iii 48: *ša kīma dūr rabūte pān māt Elamti parku akšud.*

129. Umbahabua is otherwise unknown, he does not appear outside of this context in any other royal inscription or in the royal correspondence. He is said in the annals account to have taken to "distant waters like fish." A v 20, F iii 69: *kīma nūnē isbat šupul mē rūqūti.*

130. ND 4378B+ col. c (Knudsen, *Iraq* 29 [1967] 57-60; Cogan and Tadmor, *OrNS* 50 [1981] 236).

131. Cameron (*HEI* 197-8) was the first to note that the account probably reflected the actions of two separate armies but he did not expand on his comment. Cameron also did not have access to edition K.

132. I have reconstructed the beginning of C on the assumption that ND 4306 belongs to edition C and therefore C's beginning is similar to K's (but note my reservations above n. 126). Also the most complete exemplar of edition C, K.1700, seems to allow approximately 56 lines for the campaign account (there seem to be about 120 lines per column, the Bit-Imbi campaign begins at the bottom of col. ix and continues at the top of col. x which preserves the campaign against the Arabs beginning approximately 5 lines into the account). Edition F allows 65 lines for the account, therefore, C's account appears to have been somewhat shorter in length than edition F's. Since C includes material at the end of the campaign not included in F, it seems unlikely that edition C inserted the account of the surrender of Hilmu and Pillatu between the opening of the account and the Bit-Imbi account.

133. *AOAT* 6 83-84.

134. *AOAT* 6 162, 277; Hilmu and Pillatu usually appear together. They are described in Sennacherib's inscriptions (*OIP* 2 78.29, Grayson, *AfO* 20 90.17) as, *ša ebirtān marrati* "on the other side of the sea (Persian Gulf)."

135. *AOAT* 6 101, 106-7, 317; Zadok, *Rep.Geo.* 7/8 121.

136. Most evidence points to a location on the northern Babylonian-Elamite border, probably east of the Tigris between the Radanu river and Der. For a discussion see Brinkman, *PKB* 173 n. 1093; Grayson, *TCS* 5 259, Chron. 21 iv 3. *AOAT* 6 222-223 with the map p. 409 (Parpola locates Lahiru between the Diyala and the Radanu Rivers, which is probably too far north). Zadok, *Rep.Geo.* 7/8 208.

137. Above p. 63. The available exemplars of edition K are too fragmentary to estimate the size of the missing portion of the account.

138. *ABL* 280 obv. 18-rev. 4. This letter seems to indicate that Lahiru at some point rebelled against Assyria even though other letters show that the governor of Lahiru along with his troops were stationed in Uruk to defend that city against Shamash-shum-ukin's co-conspirators.

139. There are no references to Bit-Imbi in Bel-ibni's letters. The only reference to Bit-Imbi in the letters which may date to this period is a letter sent from Marduk-nasir to Assurbanipal (*ABL* 781) reporting that the *nāgir ekalli* of the king of Elam and all the troops of upper Elam were in Bit-Imbi; the news is dated the 13th of Tammuz (V). This letter could also refer to the earlier, campaign against Te-Uman (Elam 2) which took place during Ululu (VI).

140. The career of Nabu-bel-shumate and the evidence of the letters is reviewed by Malbran-Labat in *JA* 263 (1975) 7-37.

141. If the pattern suggested above is consistent (that Bel-ibni's letters furnished the raw-material from which many of the new elements in the account of editions F and A were drawn) then the date given in F, the month of Simanu (III) may represent the beginning of Bel-ibni's activities in the south after the Shamash-shum-ukin rebellion. See below n. 142 for another element appearing in edition A's account that was drawn from Bel-ibni's letters.

Note also that the new abstract fashioned for editions F and A included a brief theological commentary on the month name Simanu (F iii 33-34; A iv 110-111) just as similar commentary concerning the month name Ululu appeared in the account of the campaign which preceded the installation of Umanigash and Tammaritu on the thrones in Elam; above pp. 137-138.

142. The information that there was a rebellion in Elam against Umanaldas at this time appears in two of Bel-ibni's letters, *ABL* 280 and 462). *ABL* 280 a contemporary letter, describes a revolt led by one Umanigash, son of Amedirra (rev. 16-23): "(He) has incited a rebellion against Ummahaldash (=Umanaldas). From the river Hudhud to Hayadanu, they have joined him. Ummahaldash, his troops, which he gathered, are now encamped at the river opposite each other."

ABL 462, written during a later campaign, also refers to this event (obv. 14-18): "In our previous campaign when we entered Elam and defeated Elam, everyone rose up against Ummahaldash, their king. Because he feared, he fled to the mountains." The information that there had been an internal rebellion against Umanaldas does not appear in an annals account until edition A (v 15-19): "Umbahabua who, when Elam revolted, fled to Bubilu...."

143. *ABL* 1148, a letter from Tammaritu to the king of Assyria, records a request by Tammaritu for troops to accompany him to Der.

144. Umanaldas returned to Elam and again escaped Assyrian capture (below Elam 5). He returned yet again and cooperated with Assyria to the extent that he returned the body of Nabu-bel-shumate to

Assurbanipal (A vii 9-44). He is later captured (A x 6-16). His capture is also recorded on a relief and in an epigraph from Room M in the North palace (see Appendix A: Room M slab 1/2).

145. Below pp. 208ff.

146. Of the twenty-nine cities listed at the end of the account in Elam 4, only eleven can be located regionally: five in or near Rashi and six in the region of the Kharkh river. These eleven are not grouped within the list regionally however, as they are in the list in Elam 5 for example. Cities associated with Rashi: Hamanu (no. 7 in the list), Bit-Arrabi (no. 11), Imbi (no. 12), Bube (no. 15), Bunak (no. 28). Cities associated with the Kharkh river region: Madaktu (no. 13.), Susa (no. 14), Tubu (no. 19), Til-Tuba (no. 20), Din-Sharri (no. 21) and Bubilu (no. 24).

147. Assuming this campaign took place during 647, beginning in Sisamun (III/647), a letter (ABL 1022) from Assurbanipal to Tammaritu, dated 16 Gisilu (VI), would indicate that Tammaritu held his throne for several months, at least. But by the time of F's composition (II/646) not only had Tammaritu been dethroned but another campaign against Elam (Elam 5) had been completed. Thus, all these events (the campaign against Elam (beginning III/647), the enthronement of Tammaritu, the removal of Tammaritu, the return of Ummaladas and Elam 5) took place within the period III/647 and II/646, i.e., eleven months.

148. Cameron refers to this as "discretely misinterpreted"; Cameron, *HEI* 202. Cameron understands the evidence to suggest that Tammaritu was unseated by or fled at, the return of Ummaladas, despite Assyrian support. Ummaladas appears in the very next campaign, and is prominent in the letters of Bel-ibni (below pp. 208ff.). It is clear, however, that Ummaladas was not in a very powerful position and there is no evidence to suggest that he could have unseated Tammaritu. In fact, Ummaladas seems to have concentrated his efforts from Madaktu rather than Susa.

149. Elam 5 may also appear in the summary inscriptions H and IT. Edition H may be represented by BM 127943 (Millard, *Iraq* 30 [1968] 109, pl. XXVI), a small fragment of a prism in Neo-Babylonian script. This fragment preserves the beginning of 8 lines which clearly represent this campaign albeit with some variation. Despite the fact that BM 127943 is written in Neo-Babylonian script the variants are also known from a prism fragment from the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, A 8052, which is written in Neo-Assyrian script and has been identified by Cogan (*JCS* 29 [1977] 100 and *JCS* 35 [1984] 146) as belonging to edition F.

IT 102-104 preserves a very brief reference to one portion of this campaign, the return of the Nanaya statue.

150. F iv 61-64; A v 119-122: *ušabbi r ilānišu ušapšiḥ kabitti bel belīr ilānišu ištarātišu būšāšu makkūršu nišē ṣeher u rabi ašlula ana māt Aššur.*

151. Only two of the cities mentioned here can be located with certainty, Susa and Dur-Undasi (Choga Zanbil). Four others have been tentatively located, Madaktu at Patek tepe (de Miroshchedji, *DAFI* 12 [1981] 172-174); Bit-Bunakku at the head of the Saimarreh river (Young, *Iran* 5 [1967] 13 n. 12); Kabinak at Haft Tepe (Stolper, *Elam* 34) and Hidalu at Behbehan on the road to Fars (*AOAT* 6, map; W. Hinz, *RIA* 4 91). Bit-Imbi and the region of Rashi cannot be identified with individual sites but are consistently described by the sources as located to the East of Assyria's border with Elam near Der.

152. A glance at Aynard's copy of the Louvre prism (col. iv) shows that the physical arrangement of the signs on the prism mimics this paratactic structure; each of lines 29-40 (with the exception of line 33) is arranged to begin each line with the URU (city) sign and end with *ak-šú-ud* (I conquered). For example, F iv 31 and 32: the signs of line 31 completely fill the available space while line 32 with five signs fewer stretches the signs across the available space:
 31. URU *har-tap-pa-ni* URU LUGAL-*u-ti* *a-di* *na-ge-šú* *ak-šú-ud*
 32. URU *tu-ú-bu* *a-di* *na-ge-šú* *ak-šú-ud*

153. Above pp. 167ff.

154. Thureau-Dangin, *TCS* 3. Oppenheim, *JNES* 19 (1960) 133-147.

155. Oppenheim, *JNES* 19 (1960) 133-4.

156. Oppenheim, *JNES* 19 (1960) 135.

157. Note also some additional similarities in the details of the two texts: for example, the very poetic account of the destruction of the land of Elam quoted above (p. 197) and the much longer but nonetheless striking account of the desolation of the land of Musasir found in Sargon's "Letter to the God" 11. 215-238; cf. Zaccagnini in *ARINH* 259-275. Note also that both texts refer to the spoilage of royal images.

158. The statue was probably recovered from Susa: K.1364 rev. 7 (Bauer, *IWA* 51; *CT* 35 48) and dupl. 82-5-22, 531 (Bauer, *IWA*, pl. 61.). K.2524, obv. 4 (Bauer, *IWA* 73, pl. 21) with partial dupl. K.7673 (Bauer, *IWA* 78, pl. 45) and IT 103.

159. The text states that Nanaya abandoned her city 1,635 years before. A variant claims the number of years as being 1,535; see Nassouhi, *MAOG* 3 (1927) 34-35.

160. There is a long and distinguished history of this motif in the literature of Assyria; see Reiner, *JNES* 17 (1958) 45; Cogan, *Imperialism and Religion* 9-21; Freymer-Kensky, *JAOS* 103 (1983) 131-141.

161. Cf. Bauer, *IWA*, "Bau- und Weih-Inscriften." 34 texts include this account. Note especially K.1364 and Rm.589.

162. Bauer, *IMA* 51 (K.1364 rev. 7-8); Cogan, *Imperialism and Religion* 14.

163. Tadmor, *HHI* 36-57.

164. Oppenheim, *JNES* 19 (1960) 136ff.

165. There are four Neo-Assyrian "Letters to the God;" one each from the reigns of Sargon and Esarhaddon, and two from Assurbanipal. No one of the four resembles another in overall structure, or content. The distinct similarity between the structure and content between Sargon's "Letter" and Assurbanipal's fifth Elamite campaign suggests that it was the content--the destruction of a major foreign cult city--that may have determined the structure of the account rather than the genre. It should be noted in this context that Sargon's "Letter to the God" is known only from a single copy. That is, there is no evidence to suggest that this was a well-known composition among the scribes.

166. The circumstances of Shamash-shum-ukin's death are unclear but certainly his death would have carried the taint of fratricide for Assurbanipal. See also in this vein Esarhaddon's apology (Borger, *Asarh.*, Nin. A, ep. 2), just prior to beginning his attack on his brothers the gods are quoted as saying (i 62): "we will kill your enemies."

167. Barnett, *Sculptures*, pl. XXXIV and LXIV.

168. Appendix A, Room S¹.

169. Barnett, *Sculptures*, pl. LXIV and p. 57.

170. The name Pa'e appears in *ABL* 1115 in a fragmentary context.

171. *ABL* 281 4-10 and see Stolper, *ZA* 68 (1978) 261-269.

172. The excision of references to Nabu-bel-shumate from the accounts is probably the reason that the Indabibi episodes were omitted in editions subsequent to C; see above pp. 179-180.

CHAPTER FOUR: CONCLUSIONS

Since the discovery of Akkadian literature, the annals have been the primary source for our knowledge of Assyrian history. Thus, an appreciation of the literary development of this genre, upon which the development of a methodology for the study of these texts is based, is a crucial preliminary task. Although A.T. Olmstead had, already in the 1930's, recognized that the annals represent a highly complex literary form, a full understanding of the content of these inscriptions has been hindered by a lack of understanding of their form, the methods of editing, ideological purposes, and the relationship between the literary form and the content. Until recently the complexity of these documents has been largely ignored, and their content taken at face value.

Recent scholarship has made great strides in analyzing these texts and a variety of studies are now available which provide models for approaching these texts in the broader cultural context in which they were composed. Taking these studies as a point of departure, I have attempted to analyze the accounts of Assurbanipal's Elamite campaigns in terms of form, content, and ideology. The relatively simple application of the terminology of narrative analysis to the individual *girru* accounts has revealed several new aspects of literary construction and historical writing which are presented below.

Although the conclusions to this study are broken down into two separate categories, Literary and Historical, for the purposes of

discussion and ease of presentation, it should be clear from the preceding that these two categories are clearly intertwined.

The annals are a literary creation and, to a great extent, a statement of Assyria's view of the world, as well as a presentation of the king's military accomplishments. As such, both the restrictions and adaptability of the form of the genre must be clearly understood before historical or political conclusions can be drawn from them.

The dissertation has focused on the individual Elamite episodes of Assurbanipal's reign and analyzed the individual *girru* accounts in terms of compositional, literary, and historical data. In the conclusions, I will take a broader approach to the same problems and issues, culling from my analyses those principles of literary construction which bind the Elamite narratives together and placing the political and historical conclusions into historical perspective. The first section, "The Narrative Construction of the Assyrian Annals," will focus on the conclusions concerning the organization and construction of individual *girru* narratives and the way in which the Elamite campaigns are integrated with each other. In addition the organization of the military narration as a whole, and its relationship to the other two sections of the annals, the introduction and the building inscription, is considered.

In the final concluding section, "Assyrian Foreign Policy and the Elamites," the historical conclusions regarding Assurbanipal's Elamite campaigns are collected, summarized, and placed within the historical context of the development of Assyrian policy toward Elam in the eighth and seventh centuries.

FIGURE 8: Sequence of *Girru* in Assurbanipal's Annals*

Edition	Content of the Military Narration	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
B	Egypt 1 Egypt 2 Tyre Arwad Tabal Cilicia Lydia								
	Kirbit Mannai Media Elam 1								
	Elam 2								
	Gambulu Elam 3 Arabs								
D	I	II	III	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	
	Egypt 1 Egypt 2 Tyre Arwad Tabal []								
	Mannai [] Elam 1								
	Elam 2								
	Gambulu Elam 3 []								
	XI								
K	[I]								
	Egypt 1 []								
	Elam 1								
	Egypt 2 Gambulu Urartu Babylon Elam 3								
	Arabs								
	Elam 4								
	[]								
C	I	II	[]	IV	[]	VI	VII	VIII	[]
	Egypt 1 Egypt 2 Tyre Arwad Tabal Cilicia Lydia								
	Kirbit Mannai Media Elam 1								
	Elam 2								
	Gambulu Babylon Elam 3								
	Elam 4								
	Arabs								
F	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	[]
	Egypt 2 Tyre Arwad Tabal Cilicia Lydia								
	Mannai								
	Elam 2 Gambulu Elam 3								
	Elam 4								
	Elam 5								
A	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX
	Egypt 1 Egypt 2 Tyre Arwad Tabal Cilicia Lydia								
	Mannai								
	Elam 2 Gambulu Babylon Elam 3								
	Elam 4								
	Elam 5								
	Arabs								

*This figure is based on the table provided at the end of Cogan and Tadmor, *OrNS* 48 (1977) p. 85, with adjustments as noted in Chapter Three and Figure 7.
Empty brackets [] indicate where *girru* numbers are expected to occur. Roman numerals within brackets indicate where a *girru* number is broken in the text.

The Construction of the Assyrian Annals

The discussion of the development and organization of the military narration in the Assyrian annals begun in Chapter Two can now be continued and refined. It was noted earlier that Assurbanipal's annals, in all its editions, preferred an arrangement of the military narration section based primarily on geography and only secondarily on chronology. That is, the broad arrangement is geographical: all Egyptian campaigns are grouped together followed by all Syro-Palestinian campaigns and so on, ordered, in general, from west to north to east to south. Multiple campaigns in the same geographic area were arranged in chronological sequence.

This geographic arrangement forms the last stage in the development of the arrangement of the military narration. The development of the form of the military narration was also presented in Chapter Two. At that time, it was noted that by the time of Tiglath-pileser III (745-727), the military narration section of the annals had developed a characteristic pattern of arranging the campaigns chronologically and also of introducing them with an introductory phrase which dated them by eponym year: "in the eponym year (*līmu*) x I went against...." Sargon II (721-705) altered the introductory phrase to "in my nth regnal year (*pali*)."¹ Sargon's son and successor Sennacherib also altered the introductory phrase of his annals to "in my nth campaign (*girru*)."² Despite the varied introductory phrases of these three kings, the form of the military narration was similar; in each case the military campaigns were introduced with a standard phrase

and were arranged chronologically. This style of presenting the campaigns changes with Esarhaddon who abandoned not only the chronological arrangement of the campaigns but also the use of an introductory phrase.¹ The individual campaigns were arranged geographically and were not introduced with any type of standard phrase.

Assurbanipal again introduces into his annals a formal introduction for the individual military campaigns using the familiar phrase "in my nth campaign" (*ina n girriya*) and numbering each *girru* account sequentially from beginning to end. Since the campaigns were arranged geographically, however, the numbering sequence bears no relationship to the actual chronological sequence of campaigns.

Assurbanipal's use of the term *girru* in his annals must be considered in its obvious function of separating individual campaigns. But understanding the use of this phrase poses a special problem because of the apparent fluidity of its use (in my nth *girru* could at times be interchanged with "on my return," *ina tayyārtiya*) and because it was used with a new over-all geographical arrangement which rendered the *girru* numbering superfluous.

When Sennacherib's use of the phrase *ina n girriya* as a formal marker for the delineation of the individual campaigns was discussed, it was noted that the term, *girru*, as it was used in the annals, did not strictly correspond to a modern definition of a campaign, i.e., the *girru* narrative did not begin and end with the army's going out and returning, but rather a campaign could be divided into two separate *girru* accounts. It was suggested in Chapter Two that other factors,

such as the internal chronology of the campaign in which the scribe split the campaign at the new year, (as in the older *palū* system) could interfere with a strict definition of *girru* as campaign.² To this can now be added the observation that a *girru* account as defined by Assurbanipal's scribes could include multiple campaigns undertaken in different regions over a long period of time (above pp. 158ff.). This is shown especially by edition A's treatment of the combined Babylonian/Elamite campaigns, discussed in the previous chapter under the heading "Elam 3." In the "third Elamite campaign(s)" which occurred during the Shamash-shum-ukin rebellion, two different phrases, *ina umešu* (at that time) and *ina n girriya* (in my nth campaign), were used. It was concluded in that discussion that these two phrases were used to signal shifts in subject matter within the narrative, shifting the reader's attention from the Babylonian to the Elamite campaigns and back again. It was also noted that these phrases functioned as structural features of the narrative, contributing to the accurate rendering of the chronological sequence of events within edition A's very complex narrative, and that as structural features the two phrases were essentially equivalent in meaning.

In Elam 2 the phrase *ina tayyārtiya*, "on my return," replaces *ina n girriya* as an introduction to the campaign against Gambulu; this can be understood in its literal translation as a more accurate rendering of the chronology of events. However, this phrase also signals a change in subject matter from the Elamite campaign to the Gambulu campaign. Elsewhere, as in Elam 5, the phrase *ina tayyārtiya*, introducing the sack of Susa cannot be understood literally, but rather

must be understood as signaling a change in subject, in this case from a march through Elam to the sacking of a city. Finally, the phrase *ina mētiq girriya*, "in the course of my campaign" also belongs in the category of introductory phrases that indicate a shift in subject in the sense that it indicates an event that occurred chronologically outside of the linear sequence of events as narrated in the *girru* account (see above p. 187).

All four phrases, then, signal shifts in time or place to another time or place. They are not necessarily intended to be understood literally. This is especially clear in the narratives of edition A, where these phrases were used to create unusually complicated literary structures in the campaign narratives.

These four phrases had the same function and could be used interchangeably to some degree. They did, however, have certain restrictions on their use. *Ina n girriya* was only used to introduce a substantial military account encompassing a variety of events leading up to and including the battle and its aftermath. A *girru* account usually began with an abstract of the campaign.³ The phrase was not used to introduce an account which did not include a military encounter.

The phrase *ina tayyārtiya* could replace *ina n girriya* from one edition to another. It was more often used, however, within the body of the *girru* account itself. The phrases *ina mētiq girriya* and *ina ūmēšu* are not known to interchange but they functioned similarly in their indication of time/subject shifts within the narrative. *Ina mētiq girriya* is known to replace *ina n girriya* once. In the rewriting

of the Bit-Imbi campaign; *ina n girriya* was altered to *ina metiq girriya* when the Bit-Imbi campaign was placed within the larger context of a campaign against Elam.

Precisely why the introductory phrases traditional in the annals up through the time of Sennacherib were omitted by Esarhaddon is difficult to determine; perhaps the new geographical arrangement rendered the numbered *pali* and *girru* phrases irrelevant. But, if this is so then why did Assurbanipal return to the use of the introductory phrase *ina n girriya* in arranging his military narration. A plausible explanation may be found in the occurrence of multiple campaigns within each geographical region--there are two Egyptian campaigns, five Elamite campaigns, and two Arab campaigns--requiring some sort of marker to separate the campaigns within a geographical region.

The first two royal inscriptions to record the military campaigns of Assurbanipal are edition E and the annals tablets HT. Neither of these two inscriptions use the *girru* numbering. But they both contain detailed reports of more than one campaign in a single geographical region: two Egyptian campaigns. The *girru* numbering first appears in the following edition, B. B is a substantially longer inscription than either E or HT. There are nine additional campaigns or episodes, including three Elamite campaigns and a Gambulu campaign within the Elamite sequence. In other words, the requirement of a formal "marker" for separating multiple campaigns in the same region does not seem to have arisen until the number of campaigns exceeded two; this occurred for the first time in Assurbanipal's edition B.

Looking again at Esarhaddon's inscriptions in light of these

observations, it can be seen that although Esarhaddon did conduct multiple campaigns in a single geographical region, his annals did not report more than two in a single edition.⁴

Once the term *girru* was used in Assurbanipal's annals, no attempt was made to manipulate it. That is, no attempt was made to render the "correct" chronological sequence of campaigns in the numbering system, and thus the ordinal numbers of the *girru* are meaningless. While Assurbanipal uses a formal introductory phrase to separate different campaigns within a single geographical region, he also begins, at the same time, to integrate the individual narratives to read as a single story of which the *girru* narratives form sections or "chapters."⁵ As a result, the geographical arrangement of the *girru* actually becomes topical. This effect is achieved by the careful repetition of information in the abstract of a *girru* which occurred first in the coda of the preceding *girru* narrative. For example, the coda to Elam 1, the campaign against Urtak, includes the following (B iv 74-86):

Afterwards, Te-Umman, the image of a *gallū* demon, sat upon the throne of Urtak. To murder the sons of Urtak and the sons of Ummanaldash, brother of Urtak, he sought evil.

.... The sons of Urtak ... the sons of Ummanaldash ... before the murderous Te-Umman, they fled; they submitted to me.

This same information is repeated in the abstract to the following campaign, Elam 2, directed against Te-Umman (B iv 87-96):

In my seventh campaign, I marched against Te-Umman, king of Elam, who <concerning the sons> of Urtak, king of Elam, <and the sons> of Ummanaldash, brother of Urtak, king of Elam, he constantly sent his nobles, for the extradition of those who fled to me, and submitted to me.

It is interesting to note that in editions F and A, which omit Elam 1, information in the abstract of Elam 2, which represented a repetition from the coda of Elam 1 is also omitted. It was apparently no longer necessary to the new Elamite narrative as a whole and the omission clearly indicates the deliberate nature of its inclusion in the earlier edition.⁶

This pattern of repeating information between coda and abstract can be seen in the Elamite narratives in all editions of the annals with one exception, the coda to Elam 3 and the abstract to Elam 4 in editions F and A. This exception, however, demonstrates very clearly that the pattern of repeating information was conscious and deliberate.

Edition C which preceded editions F and A, incorporated Elam 3 into a much larger and more complex narrative of events including the Babylon campaign. When F was composed, the Babylon campaign was omitted along with the final Elamite episodes that had been included in C. These final episodes in C included the coda to the *girru* and the bridge to Elam 4 by noting Ummanaldas' appearance on the throne in Elam. As a result, the reference to Ummanaldas as the target of the Elam 4 *girru* in F, is without context.⁷

Similarly, although edition A includes an account of the Babylon rebellion as part of Elam 3, it omits the final Elamite episodes and thus the coda. It was suggested in the discussion to Elam 5 that the reason that these Elamite episodes were omitted was because they involved the rebel Nabu-bel-shumate who continued to elude Assyrian retribution.

Although the coda-abstract repetition is missing between Elam 3 and Elam 4 in editions F and A, there is clear evidence of another repetition in Elam 4's abstract: the repetition of the information concerning Tammaritu's flight from Indabibi which was now the only available "coda" to Elam 3 in editions F and A (see above p. 189). Thus a new coda-abstract repetition was created to replace the original.

This repetition of information between *girru* narratives imposes a level of integration on the Elamite narratives that is otherwise unknown in the annals of the Assyrian kings. It is not in evidence for the narratives of other regions for which there are more than one campaign or episode (Lydia, Arwad, Egypt, or the Arabs). Lydia 1 and 2, and Arwad 1 and 2 are episodes which are non-military in character and are not presented as individual *girru* narratives. They appear consistently as part of the Tyre *girru*. In each of these two cases the second of the two episodes occurring in those regions simply follows the first without any indication of the intervening time between the events.

There were two military campaigns each against Egypt and the Arabs during Assurbanipal's reign. In the case of Egypt, these campaigns, in B and subsequent editions (i.e., once the *girru* system was introduced into Assurbanipal's annals) were given *girru* numbers and were separated as individual *girru* in some fashion.⁸

The account of the second of the two Arabian campaigns occurs only in edition A. It is added onto the end of the first Arabian campaign under the same *girru* number. There is no evidence in this

case or in the case of the two Egyptian *girru* of the use of the repetition of information evident in the Elamite campaigns. It appears that two episodes or campaigns in the same region required no special structural or stylistic techniques to maintain either their individuality or their interrelationship. It seems that only when the number of campaigns exceeded two was special attention paid to their narratives.

There is no proof that the pattern of using the phrase *ina n girriya* as a formal marker to a campaign narrative was reintroduced for the purpose of distinguishing individual campaigns in a single region. It is clear, however, that Assurbanipal's scribes took extraordinary care with the Elamite narratives to clearly distinguish the individual narratives and at the same time to indicate their interrelationship.

A few additional observations about the various editions of Assurbanipal's annals can be made. In general, the editions seem to group into pairs: E and HT; B and D; K and C; and F and A. It is arguable whether E and HT should be classed as annals or summary inscriptions. E is only known in fragments but was inscribed on a prism, while HT is known only from two tablets from the Kouyunjik collection in the British Museum. Both E and HT exhibit a similar arrangement of the military narration as well as similar content. Both contain detailed narratives, but neither uses *girru* to demarcate the individual campaign accounts.

Editions B and D, written approximately one year apart, 649 and 648 respectively, are nearly identical in form and content. Only the building inscription and date differentiate one from the other. Both

have identical introductions which focus on the education of the king and the prosperity of the land. Both organize their military narration by *girru*, grouping the individual narratives geographically.

Editions K and C, probably both written during the year 647, or at most one year apart, 647 and 646 respectively, are still only known in fragments. They both follow the pattern established by editions B and D of grouping the individual "campaign" narratives geographically and introducing them as *girru*. The two editions have identical introductions focusing on the building activities of Assurbanipal. They are distinguished from the preceding editions B and D by their accounts of the Babylonian rebellion. The individual *girru* accounts of K and C exhibit a great deal of variation between themselves. Their fragmentary state, however, makes it difficult to analyze them much further.

Editions F and A, written in 646 and 643 respectively, exhibit many similarities and just as many differences. Both begin with an apology of the king, describing Assurbanipal's ascent to the throne of Assyria, and both conclude with a building inscription that commemorates the rebuilding of the Bit-reduti, "the house of succession." This is the only time that two editions of the annals commemorate the same building. The two editions are distinguished from one another by their military narration. F, the shorter of the two, omits six *girru*: Egypt 1, Kirbit, Elam 1, Babylon, the Arabs, and one episode from the Mannaya *girru* concerning Media. The account of Elam 2 and Gambulu is also stripped down to the bare facts. Edition A omits only two *girru* (Kirbit and Elam 1) and the episode concerning Media.

The scribe of A, writing a few years after F, includes and rewrites from preceding recensions the accounts of Egypt 1, Babylon, and the Arabian campaign. A also adds additional information about events of the intervening years and, more interestingly, inserts information and comments into the text of accounts known from preceding editions.

It is impossible to determine whether this "pairing" of the editions of the annals is simply an accident of discovery or has a more significant meaning. The usefulness of recognizing this "pairing" is evident not only when reconstructing the missing portions of the texts but also when examining the differences between their accounts. This second point is best illustrated by an example: the differences between the Elam 3/Babylon accounts in editions F and A can be explained by the same motif that unites the three sections of each edition, legitimacy.

It has been suggested, by Tadmor, that the introduction to both F and A, an autobiographical apology, and the building inscription, commemorating the rebuilding of the "house of succession," indicate that the new heir to the Assyrian throne was about to be designated. In addition, Tadmor suggested that the cultic apology was one element of an encompassing motif that united the three sections of the editions: the motif of legitimacy. He contended that the inclusion of the cultic apology in the introduction to edition F and in the narrative of Elam 5 in edition F "was rooted in the sacrilegious events of the preceding year, the sack of Susa."⁹ While this is certainly one possibility another aspect to his interpretation can be suggested: the motif of legitimacy governed not only the featuring of certain elements but also governed the omission of the Babylon account

in edition F and the rewriting of that account in A.

The evidence for this can be found in the rewriting of the Babylon campaign in the later edition A. In A's narrative of the Babylonian rebellion and the death of Shamash-shum-ukin certain special elements--prophecy and a dream message¹⁰--are introduced into the account, and the circumstances surrounding the death of Shamash-shum-ukin are deliberately obscured: the account states that the gods cast Shamash-shum-ukin into a fire.¹¹ The introduction of these religious elements is surely intended to remove the onus of fratricide from Assurbanipal. Edition F, composed earlier and at the time of the designation of an heir, as Tadmor has shown, probably omitted the account of the Babylonian rebellion and of his brother's death altogether because its inclusion would certainly have cast some doubt on the legitimacy of Assurbanipal's own right to rule. And furthermore, the cultic apology, while perhaps included to off-set the possible sin of destroying the cult city of Susa may also have been included to off-set the sin of destroying the cult city of Babylon.

Thus, to Tadmor's analysis of the interrelationship between the three main sections of editions F and A, in terms of elements that were selected to emphasize the theme of legitimacy can now be added the observation that certain differences between the two editions can also be explained by this same theme of legitimacy. The differences between the two editions--the omission of the Babylon campaign in edition F and its rewriting in edition A--represent two different solutions to the problem of establishing Assurbanipal's legitimacy.

Assyrian Foreign Policy and the Elamites

In the introduction to this study, a review of individual Assyrian encounters with the Elamites in the late Neo-Assyrian period up to the reign of Assurbanipal was presented. Here these same events are analyzed in terms of a developing Assyrian policy toward Elam. Against this backdrop, a presentation of the conclusions concerning Assurbanipal's campaigns and actions toward the Elamites is given as a final development in Assyrian policy toward Elam.

Virtually all Assyrian military encounters with the Elamites during the late Neo-Assyrian period were the direct result of Assyrian conflicts with Babylonia. The resurgence of Assyria in the late eighth and seventh centuries brought Assyria head to head with Elam over Babylonia.

Tiglath-pileser III (745-727), responsible for renewed Assyrian expansion in the late eighth century, records no specific military activity against the Elamites. His two forays into Elamite territory were directed against the Aramean tribes along the Babylonian-Elamite border.

During Sargon's reign (721-705) there were three incidents which posed the threat of direct conflict with the Elamites. Two of the three incidents, which took place in 720 and 710, occurred in conjunction with Babylonian rebellion. On these two occasions Babylonia, specifically Merodach-baladan, had sought or proceeded to seek the aid of the Elamites. The third incident, in 708, did not directly involve Babylonia but the Assyrian posture was nevertheless

dictated by its concern over Babylonian-Elamite alliances. On the first of these two occasions, in 720, the Elamites launched a campaign at Merodach-baladan's request and achieved a limited victory over the Assyrian army at Der.

Elamite motivation for this action is difficult to evaluate. It is possible, however, to speculate. Sargon came to the throne in 722 as the result of a rebellion which deposed Shalmaneser V. This change in Assyrian leadership was met by other rebellions, both within and without Assyria proper. Such obvious instability at the heart of Assyria may have been construed by Elam as weakness on the part of Sargon and encouraged the Elamite king to accept the request of Merodach-baladan for military aid against Assyria.

In the second incident, in 710, the Elamites refused Merodach-baladan's request for asylum. Merodach-baladan's request was undoubtedly weighed against the knowledge that Sargon's army was well organized and effective, having already recovered control over the rebel areas of Babylonia. In addition, Assyria's recent victories over her Syrian vassals and Urartu, put her in a strong position to attack Elam if sufficiently provoked. The Elamite king seems to have followed the more prudent course, refused aid to Merodach-baladan, and thus avoided direct conflict.

At the conclusion of his campaign against Babylonia in 710, Sargon's commitment to holding Babylonia as an Assyrian dependency became evident as he proceeded to reorganize the administration of the region creating the centralization crucial for Assyrian control of the area. He implemented an extensive program of deportation of the

troublesome tribal population and the resettlement of peoples from other parts of the empire into that region; he also included Babylonian royal titles in his own titulary. There was also an increasing awareness of Elamite willingness to aid Babylonia in her anti-Assyrian activities. Sargon's annals remark several times on his efforts to fortify the Elamite border.¹²

The third and final incident involving Elam during Sargon's reign, in 708, occurred over control of the vassal state of Ellipi to the southeast of Assyria along the border with Elam. At the death of Ellipi's king, control of the throne was contested by two sons of the Ellipian king; one appealed to the Elamite king for support, the other to the Assyrian king. Although this conflict did not take place within the context of disturbances in Babylonia, it was for Assyria a question of maintaining the integrity of the border. Just as Sargon was fortifying the Babylonian-Elamite border in the south to prevent further Elamite intervention in Babylonian affairs, he surely looked upon Ellipi, already a vassal state, as a buffer along her own border with Elam.

Assyrian conflict with the Elamites increased dramatically during the reign of Sargon's son and successor, Sennacherib (704-781). During Sennacherib's reign, troubles in Babylonia required the presence of the Assyrian army three times and in each case the Elamites proved to be a factor. Twice the Elamites came to the aid of the Babylonian king: Merodach-baladan in 703 and Mushezib-Marduk in 689. On both occasions Elamite aid came at the invitation of the Babylonian king and upon receipt of a bribe.

In between these two events, two incidents involving Elamite military action in Babylonia took place: the Elamite assault on Sippar and the Elamite capture of Assur-nadin-shumi, the son of Sennacherib and king in Babylon, in 694. Both Elamite actions were surely undertaken in retaliation for the Assyrian incursion into the southern marsh regions of Elam in pursuit of Babylonian fugitives in 694. The armies of Assyria and Elam continued their maneuvering in Babylonia during the period 694-693, finally resulting in the capture of Nergal-ushezib, recently enthroned in Babylon, and the routing of the Elamite army.¹³

Following the capture of Nergal-ushezib, late in 693, the Assyrians made a direct assault on Elamite territory to the east and north of Der, Elam's point of entry into Assyria. The apparent inability of the Elamites to respond to this incursion is probably to be attributed to the instability of the throne in Elam. The Elamite king, Hallushu-Inshushinak, had been removed by a revolt the year before, and replaced by Kudur-Nahhunte, who was, the very next year, also removed by a revolt and replaced by Humban-nimena.

All Assyrian military activity against Elam, at this time, as well as Elamite activity against Assyria can be closely associated with affairs in Babylonia. The difficulties experienced by the Assyrians in governing Babylonia were complicated, but not generated, by the Elamites. That is, rebellions in Babylonia seem solely to be the result of Chaldean efforts to take Babylonia out of the orbit of Assyria. To this end, the Chaldean leaders actively sought the considerable military aid of Elam.

Assyria's policy, however, had altered slightly. In recognition of Elam's willingness to aid the rebellious Chaldeans, Assyria took aggressive and punitive action within Elamite territory on two occasions: 694 and 693. In 694, Sennacherib's actions in the marshlands of Elam were essentially punitive, aimed at the Chaldean fugitives of the previous campaign and at their Elamite protectors. The campaign into Elamite territory in 693 was directed at the northern border region of Babylonia, particularly the region around Der, the area from which the Elamite army crossed into Babylonia to aid her allies. The campaign resulted in the securing of the passes to Der. Thus, both actions were restricted to the Babylonian-Elamite border region and were aimed at driving a wedge between Babylonia and her willing ally, Elam.

The southeastern front was relatively quiet during Esarhaddon's reign (680-669), as he rebuilt the city of Babylon and concluded a peace treaty with Elam's king, Urtak. Although four times during his reign, Esarhaddon sent troops to Babylonia (680, 678, 675, and 674) there is no evidence of Elamite involvement or interference in Babylonian affairs during his reign, despite at least one Babylonian request for aid (680). Why Assyria concluded a treaty with Elam at this time is difficult to determine. Tadmor has suggested that Assyria concluded the treaty because of the recent debacle in Egypt.¹⁴ This is unlikely, since the evidence which suggests that the treaty was concluded in 673--the return of the gods to Agade--is mentioned by the Babylonian Chronicle as having taken place just two days after the army's defeat in Egypt, hardly time to receive word of the defeat let

alone conclude a treaty and achieve the return of captive gods. It is more likely that the treaty was concluded sometime prior to Addaru (XII) of 673, perhaps in anticipation of an extended campaign against Egypt. With the army so far away, Assyria would wish to guarantee the security of her eastern border.

Assyrian sources claim that the Assyrian-Elamite treaty was initiated by Elam. Elam may have initiated the treaty in an attempt to forstall Assyrian retribution for the Elamite attack against Sippar the year before under the previous king of Elam. Another motivating factor may have been the arrival of Indo-Iranian-speaking groups into the northern regions of the fertile crescent who were becoming an increasingly destabilizing factor and figured prominently in Assyrian oracle queries of the period. These same groups were perhaps pressing on the northern Elamite borders as well and may have influenced Urtak's decision to seek a treaty with Assyria.¹⁵

Assurbanipal's reign (668-627) forms the final chapter in Elamite-Assyrian relations. Assyrian-Elamite relations in this period, which began with a peace treaty with Elam, deteriorated rapidly. The essentially defensive policies toward Elam which had characterized the reigns of Assurbanipal's predecessors were abandoned when Urtak broke the treaty in 664 and aggressive measures were taken to stabilize Assyria's eastern border.

There were five *girru* directed against Elam during Assurbanipal's reign; all but one are clearly and intimately associated with Babylonian affairs. These five *girru* can be divided into four phases according to Assyria's policy toward Elam: (I) Peace (II) Broken

treaty--664; (III) Assyrian intervention in the Elamite monarchy--653, 652-648, 647; and (IV) Destruction--647.

The situation that obtained between Elam and Assyria for the first four years of Assurbanipal's reign (668-664) was inherited from Assurbanipal's father. The peace treaty concluded by Esarhaddon with Elam's king, Urtak, continued to be honored by both parties.

Esarhaddon's efforts to effect a smooth transition of power at his death seems also to have been successful. The only exception to Assurbanipal's otherwise peaceful accession to power in Assyria was a rebellion along Assyria's eastern border with Elam. The district of Kirbit, rebelled under her governor, Tanda, and conducted raids into parts of Babylonia. The incident seems to have been easily contained and Assyria was secure enough in the very next year, 667, for Assurbanipal to undertake a campaign against Egypt.¹⁶

The peace with Elam was shattered in 664 when Urtak in alliance with others, notably the Gambulu and the governor of Nippur, mounted an attack on Babylonia, laying siege to Babylon itself. Assurbanipal claims in his annals that the other rebels provoked Urtak to this action. The Assyrian response to the attack was sufficient to remove the Elamite threat. Urtak's death in 664, however, brought a more dangerous enemy, Te-Umman, to Elam's throne.

In 653, Te-Umman, already known to be hostile to Assyria, seems to have moved his army close to the border of Assyria. It was suggested elsewhere, that the unusually long and complicated account that introduces the campaign itself may, in fact, form an elaborate justification for Assyria's attempt to control the Elamite throne by

placing a pro-Assyrian Elamite on the throne in Elam.

As noted in an earlier discussion (above p. 134) Assyria often manipulated the throne of her vassals. This, however, is the first time that Assyria attempted to control or manipulate the throne of an independent nation. In Assurbanipal's earlier campaign against Egypt, in 667, he had successfully managed to maintain his control over lower Egypt with a similar ploy and his success there may have influenced his actions vis-à-vis Elam.

In 667, Assurbanipal responded to a rebellion in Egypt, led by the Kushite leader, Tarqu, and joined by the kings of lower Egypt and the Syrian coast. Three Egyptian kings are mentioned by name, Necho of Sais, Sharru-lu-dari of Si'nu, and Pakruru of Pishapti, but the fate of only two is given at the conclusion of that campaign: Sharru-lu-dari was captured and punished, and Necho was brought back to Assyria (discussed above pp. 37-38). At that time, Assurbanipal and Necho effected an agreement under which Necho returned to his throne in Egypt. The arrangement was apparently successful since Necho continued to rule in Sais and the peace was undisturbed until 664.

In 664, when the Kushite leader, Tandamane, attempted to invade Egypt, he moved south, making his camp at Memphis. Necho, upholding his agreement with Assurbanipal, rallied the princes of Lower Egypt to fight Tandamane. Tandamane was victor and Necho was killed. Necho's son, Psamtik, succeeded him in Sais. Assurbanipal's second campaign to Egypt in 664/3 removed the Kushite from Egypt and the city of Memphis was sacked. Egypt remained peaceful until the mid-650's when Psamtik expelled the Assyrian garrisons from Egypt. Although Assurbanipal was

at that time unable to retain his hold on Egypt, the apparent success of his arrangement with Necho may have influenced his decision to place the Elamite princes on the throne of Elam in 653.

The situation in Elam, however, was very different. Rather than returning an accepted and otherwise legitimate ruler to his throne, as was the situation with Necho, Assurbanipal had to remove the current ruler of Elam, Te-Umman, in order to place the two princes on the thrones in the fortress cities of Madaktu in the north and Hidalu in the south. Neither prince had ever ruled in Elam, but had fled to Assyria when Te-Umman came to the throne. Assurbanipal's choice of Madaktu, a fortress city in the highlands northwest of Susa, as the seat of Ummanigash's rule may indicate that his purpose was at least in part to thwart any concerted Elamite attempt to cross the border into Assyrian territory.¹⁷

The Assyrian attack on Te-Umman, in 653, which struck at the very heart of Elam was unprecedented in recent Assyrian history. Assyria's actions toward Elam had always been defensive in nature. That is, all military encounters occurred when Elamite troops ventured into Assyrian/Babylonian territory. Similarly any ventures into Elam itself had been confined to the border regions and aimed at the control of the mountain passes to Assyria, the recovery of fugitives, and the fortification of the borders between Elam and Babylonia.

Assurbanipal's attempt at controlling the Elamite throne, whether intended to impose stability on that increasingly fragmented polity or perhaps only to insure the failure of any concerted Elamite attempt to attack Assyria, was unsuccessful. In 652, Shamash-shum-ukin led a

revolt against Assyria. Ummagash, placed on the Elamite throne by Assurbanipal just the year before, accepted a bribe from Shamash-shum-ukin and attacked the Assyrian forces at Sumandir, near Der. Following his defeat, Ummagash was deposed in a coup. He was replaced by Tammaritu II, reputedly the leader of the revolt, who took the throne in Susa. Tammaritu II also accepted a bribe from Shamash-shum-ukin and sent his troops against Assyria. Tammaritu II was himself deposed in a coup. He fled Elam and submitted to Assurbanipal. This coup brought Indabibi to the Elamite throne. Initially Indabibi maintained friendly relations with Assurbanipal, and did not attempt to enter into the conflict with Babylon.

It was probably after the collapse of the rebellion in Babylonia that Assurbanipal turned his attention to Indabibi and especially to the Chaldean fugitive, Nabu-bel-shumate, an ally of Shamash-shum-ukin, who had earlier fled to Elam. Indabibi's unwillingness, or perhaps inability, to return Nabu-bel-shumate to Assyria for punishment brought Assyrian troops into Elam. Before Assurbanipal reached Indabibi and probably because of the approach of Assyrian troops, Indabibi was deposed and Ummaladas, son of Attametu, took the throne in Elam.

Efforts to capture Nabu-bel-shumate continued into the next year (647) with a two-pronged attack against Elam from Der in the north and from the Sealand in the south. The letters of Bel-ibni, governor in the Sealand and in command of an army coming from the Sealand, indicate that the land of Elam was seriously divided against itself. The king of Elam, Ummaladas, fled before the domestic revolt and the Assyrian troops, as did another claimant to the throne, Umbahabua.

Assurbanipal once again attempted to place his nominee on the throne in Elam, this time Tammaritu II, who had earlier fled Elam when his servant Indabibi revolted against him. The result of this second effort was the same as the first, failure. The reasons for the failure are unclear. The Assyrian account claims that Tammaritu revolted against Assyria almost immediately and the gods deposed him. It is certainly possible that Tammaritu made an attempt to extricate himself from his obligations to Assyria, but it is more likely that he fled Elam when Ummaladas returned. The obscure reference in the annals to the way in which Tammaritu left his throne is perhaps to be explained by the inability of the Assyrian troops to keep him there.

With the second failure of his policy of attempting to control Elam from within, his inability to capture either the hated Nabu-bel-shumate or Ummaladas, and no doubt recognizing that the increasing fragmentation of the Elamite polity would make it impossible to rule, Assurbanipal turned to his last resort, destruction.

In late 647, Assurbanipal mounted a major expedition deep into Elamite territory, destroying the strategic fortress cities of the mountainous regions as well as the cultic and traditional centers of the interior. Although Ummaladas and Nabu-bel-shumate once again eluded the Assyrians, Elam as a politically viable entity was destroyed. It did not again mount a coordinated attack on Assyria or seriously threaten Babylonia until 539, when, under the rule of the Persians, it attacked the city of Babylon.

The final stage of Assurbanipal's policy toward Elam is only suggested by a single letter, *ABL* 1007+, which seems to indicate that

governors were sent to preside over the ruined cities of Elam. But the letter is fragmentary and yields no further details. Although Assurbanipal probably reigned another 12 years in Assyria, there is no other extant information concerning this or any other policy of Assurbanipal after the recording of his summary inscription H, dated to 639.

To summarize, in the century between the reigns of Tiglath-pileser III and Assurbanipal, Assyria and Elam increasingly came into direct conflict. This conflict was nearly always the direct result of Babylonian efforts to maintain or regain its independence from Assyria. Initially, it appears that Elam cooperated with Babylonia solely for monetary gain, accepting bribes and sharing in the booty. The strength of the Elamite military is evident in its ability to meet the Assyrian army in a pitched battle and win. There are only two instances of Elamite aggression against Assyria/Babylonia which cannot be directly connected to rebellion in Babylonia: the campaign to Ellipi in 708 and an isolated reference to an Elamite attack on Sippar in 675.¹⁸

Assyrian conflict with Elam during this period was confined to Elamite intrusions into Assyrian territory. Not until the time of Assurbanipal did Assyria venture beyond the border regions and into the very heart of Elam. There is no evidence to suggest that Assyria desired, at any time, to expand her eastern border to include Elam.

It is also clear that Elam was not interested in serious direct conflict with Assyria. In her relations with Babylonia, she was very discriminating in her willingness to lend aid, avoiding any possibility of bringing Assyrian troops into Elam, as shown by her refusal to grant

asylum to Merodach-baladan (710) and Nabu-zer-kitti-lishir (680).

Despite Elam's effort to avoid bringing Assyrian troops into Elam, it was in fact the harboring of Babylonian refugees in Elamite territory that finally brought Assyria to cross the border into Elam during Sennacherib's reign. Initially, Assyria's activities in Elam were confined to securing the borders with increased fortification, and punitive action against the fugitives who sought sanctuary among the tribal peoples of the lower marshlands.

The increasing instability in Elam may have been the result of, or at least exacerbated by, Assyrian successes against the Elamite army and her punitive forays into the border regions of Elam. The border problems that attended instability at the center, brought increasing Assyrian activity against Elam culminating in the unprecedented attempt to impose stability on the region by placing and supporting a king (or kings) in Elam. This action itself probably only further fueled the instability.

In the absence of any source material from Elam, the situation in Elam cannot be properly evaluated or the increasing fragmentation that afflicted that polity be understood. Mesopotamian sources name fifteen kings of Elam during the Sargonid period (721-609); Elamite sources contribute the names of another four (figure 9). The observation, however, can be made that each Assyrian victory over Elam or instance of Assyria crossing the border with Elam was followed by a revolution in Elam which brought yet another king to the throne.¹⁹ This increasing fragmentation only made it that much easier for Babylonian rebels to find a supporter in Elam and to find refuge there, thus

bringing more Assyrian military activity against Elam and greater instability. With this in mind it can be suggested that it was Elam's increasing participation in Babylonian affairs that eventually brought about its collapse as a viable political entity.

There is no evidence to suggest that Assyria, herself, desired the destruction of her neighbor, Elam. She only resorted to the extreme measure of all out destruction when all other attempts at stabilizing the region had failed.

Figure 9: Assyrian, Babylonian, and Elamite Kings

ASSYRIA	BABYLONIA	ELAM	
		Assyrian Sources	Elamite sources
		Humban-nikash I (743-717)	Hanni
Sargon II (721-705)	Merodach-baladan (721-710, 703)	Shutruk-Nahhunte II = (716-699)	Shutruk-Nahhunte II
Sennacherib (704-681)		Hallushu-Inshushinak = (698-693) Kudur-Nahhunte (693-692) Humban-nimena (692-689) Humban-haltash I (688-681) Humban-haltash II (680-675) Urtak (674-664?)	Hallushu-Inshushinak
Esarhaddon (680-669)			Shilhak-Inshushinak II
Assurbanipal (668-627)	Shamash-shum-ukin (667-648)	Tepti-Humban-Inshushinak = Tepti-Humban-Inshushinak (664-653) Shutruk-Nahhunte (?) Humban-nikash II (653-652?) Tammariitu (653-?) Tammariitu II (652-649?) Indabibi (649-648) Humban-haltash III (645-c. 644?) Humban-habua (647?) Pa'e (c. 644)	Atta-hamiti-Inshushinak (c. 653)

ENDNOTES

1. Above p. 26 and n. 38.
2. Two suggestions were offered in Chapter Two concerning the reason that Sennacherib's scribes split the single campaign into two campaigns, one against Merodach-baladan, and one against the Kassites and Yasubigalli on his return march. It was suggested that the campaign may have been split because it extended over the end of the year and into another; thus, the scribes, perhaps trained under the earlier *paltu* system, made the events of the first year, the first *girru* and the events of the second year, the second *girru* (above pp. 24-25). In addition, Russell has proposed that the reason they were split was of a more practical nature, the Assyrians were in need of a building inscription prior to the conclusion of the second half of the campaign (above Chapter Two, n. 37). In light of Chapter Three's discussion of the use of the introductory phrase "in my nth *girru*" (above pp. 167ff.) it is now possible to suggest a third reason why the campaign was split into two *girru*: because they represented two different regions and thus two different topics.
3. Abstracts and orientation sections are often minimal in the *girru* narratives for other regions, only completing the sentence begun by *ina n girriya*. For example: B ii 18-21, "A second time I marched to Egypt and Kush. Tandamane heard of the advance of my campaign and that I had invaded Egypt...."
4. Esarhaddon conducted three campaigns against Egypt (in 673, 671 and 669) but only one was reported in the annals (671). Similarly there were four incidents in Babylonia requiring a military response (in 680, 678, 675, and 674). But only two of these incidents were reported in Esarhaddon's annals.
5. Grayson noted this in his discussion of the annals (ARINH 43) but did not comment any further.
6. Repetition of information between the coda of *girru a* and the abstract of *girru b* between:
 - Elam 1-2: B iv 74-86/ B iv 87-96. Edition K and C do not preserve these sections; editions F and A omit Elam 1 from their military narrations.
 - Elam 2-3: B vi 6-9/ vii 3-4; K/C not preserved; F ii 67-69/iii 6-8; A iii 44-49/ iii 100-102, 136-138.
 - Elam 3-4: The first edition to preserve both of these campaigns is edition K. But not enough is preserved to evaluate the coda-abstract repetition. The next edition, edition C preserves the coda to Elam 3 (K.1794 [Bauer, IWA 17] viii 46ff.) but not the abstract to Elam 4. The unusual construction of the narrative to Elam 3 created an unusual situation in editions F and A. When F elected to omit all information about the Shamash-shum-ukin campaign, it also omitted the coda which recorded the accession of Ummaladas to the throne of Elam. The

mentioning of Umanaldas in the abstract to Elam 4 is therefore without any context. The last event mentioned in edition F's narrative of Elam 3 is the flight of Tammaritu and the accession of Indabibi. F then chose to repeat the only available "coda" in Elam 3, the flight of Tammaritu, in its abstract to Elam 4. Edition A follows the same pattern: F iii 21-26/ F iii 37-38; A iv 23-40/ A iv 114-115.

Elam 4-5: The repetition of information between Elam 4 and 5 is not strictly between coda and abstract, rather the information repeated in the abstract to Elam 5 comes from an episode of Elam 4, the conquest of Bit-Imbi: F iii 46-65/ F iv 20-21; A iv 112-v 13/ A v 66-67.

7. Above Chapter Three, pp. 188-189.

8. Edition B (ii 18) counts the second Egyptian campaign as the second *girru*, but does not use the formula *ina 2-e girriya*. It says, *asnima ... ušteššera*, "again (a second time) I marched" Edition F (ii 28) does not include the first Egyptian *girru*. A separates the second Egyptian campaign from the first with the usual formula *ina Šanē girriya*, "in my second campaign."

9. Tadmor, *HHI* 50.

10. The use of dream messages, prophecies, and of direct quotation in the annals require separate studies. I expect to publish a study of direct quotation in Assurbanipal's annals shortly.

11. The circumstances of Shamash-shum-ukin's death are discussed in detail by von Soden, *ZA* 62 (1972) 84-90. See also the remarks of Frame, *Babylonia* 132 with nts. 5 and 6.

12. Lie, *Sargon* 64:16-17; 69:451-452.

13. *OIP* 2 38:46-39:53.

14. Tadmor, *HHI* 46 and n. 42. Note also Esarhaddon's suspicions regarding Urtak's sincerity as shown in an oracle query dated in Iyyar (II) [year broken] of the reign of Esarhaddon; cf. Knudtzon, *Gebete*, no. 76.

15. Just as the Cimmerian threat had provoked Gyges of Lydia to seek an alliance with Assurbanipal some years earlier. See above pp. 36 and 43-44.

16. Grayson, *TCS* 5, Chron. 1 iv 37. The people of Kirbit were subsequently deported to Egypt.

17. Stolper, *Elam* 47.

18. Contra Levine, *JCS* 34 (1982) 51 n. 70.

19. Above Chapter Three, n. 82.

APPENDIX A: ASSURBANIPAL'S EPIGRAPHS

This appendix includes all the known epigraphs of Assurbanipal which can be associated with the palace reliefs. They are arranged here by room. The location of each epigraph is described and a transliteration and translation provided. Where the epigraphs from the reliefs are known to also occur on tablets the references are given and any variants are noted. The palace reliefs are published in Barnett, *Sculptures and Paterson, PS.*

NORTH PALACE OF ASSURBANIPAL

Room F: 2 epigraphs

Slab 3, upper register, on the upper walls of a city under siege, slightly right of center, a two line inscription:

URU *ha-ma-nu* URU LUGAL-*u-ti* Ša KUR NIM.MA.KI
al-me KUR-*ud* aš-*lu-la* Šal-lat-*su*

Hamanu, royal city of Elam,
I surrounded, I conquered, I carried off its plunder

Slab 15, upper register, above a royal chariot to the right, remnants of a six line inscription--illegible

Room I: 2 epigraphs

Slab 1, lower register, above two men framed by two trees in the midst
of a battle, a four line inscription:

^a *I-tu-ni-i LU.ša-ut-SAG* ^a *te-um-man*^a *LUGAL KUR NIM.MA.KI*
šá ir-ha-niš iš-tap-pa-raš-šú a-di^b mah-ri-ya^c
ta-ha-zi^d dan-nu e-mur-ma ina GÍR AN.BAR šib-bi-šú
GIŠ.BAN si-mat^e Á.II^f-šú ik-si-ma ŠU.II ra-ma-ni-[šú]

Ituni, *Shut-reshi* of TeUmmān, king of Elam, whom
he continually (and) insolently sent before me.

He saw my strong battle and with the dagger of his belt
by his own hand he cut the bow, symbol of his strength

Cf. K.2674+ obv. ii:8-10, *CT* 35, pl. 10; Weidner, *AfO* 8, Nr. 16.

Variants: inscription in 3 lines, a) NENNI (blank space) 'LUGAL' b) EN
c) IGI-ya d) ME e) tuk-lat f) omits II

Slab 9, upper register above the first tier of city walls:

'URU' '4'-DINGIR city of Arba-ili

Room M: 2 epigraphs

Slab 2⁷, lower register above a line of men on a hill leading an Elamite king away, a six line inscription:

] GIŠ.TUKUL AN.ŠÁR EN-ya
] ul-tú KUR-e a-šar mar-qí-ti-šú
]-x Ša URU mu-ru-ú-bi-si
 a]n⁷ AN.ŠÁR EN-ya
 ^] um-man-al-das is-bat-ma
] il-qa-áš-šú a-di mah-ri-ya

] weapon of Assur, my lord
] from the mountain, place of his refuge
] x of Murubisi
] Assur, my lord
] Ummanaldas he seized
] he brought before me

Slab 13, lower register, above a royal chariot to the right, a nine line inscription:

a-na-ku ^AN.ŠÁR-DÙ-A MAN ŠU^a MAN KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI
 šá ina qí-bit DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ ik-šu-du
 šu-um-me-rat lìb-bi-šú lu- 'bul' - 'tú' 'šu'^b-kut-tu
 b si-mat LUGAL-u^c-ti ša^d GIŠ.NU₁₁-MU-GI.NA
 šEŠ NU GI.NA SAL.ziq-re-te-šú LÚ.[šu-ut]-SAG.MEŠ^d-šú

LU.ÉRIN.MEŠ ME-ša^e GIŠ.GIGIR GIŠ.ša šad- 'da' - 'di' [ru]-kub EN-ti-šu'
 mim-ma^f hi-šib-ti É.GAL-šu' ma-la [b]a-šu-^g
 UN.MEŠ zik-ru u sin-niš TUR GAL^h
 u-še-etⁱ -ti-qu ina 'maḥ^j-ri-ya^j

I, Assurbanipal, king of the world, king of Assyria
 who, at the command of the great gods, attained
 the desires of his heart. Garments and ornaments
 royal insignia of Shamash-shum-ukin
 faithless brother, his harem, his eunuchs
 his battle troops, his state chariot, his lordly vehical
 whatever equipment of his palace, as much as there is,
 people, male and female, young and old,
 I had brought out before me

Cf. K.4453+ obv. 15-22, *CT* 35, pls. 27ff.; Weidner, *AfO* 3, Nr. 61.

Variants: inscription in 8 lines. a) omits MAN ŠU b) inserts mim-ma c)
 omits u d) omits MEŠ e) adds MEŠ before ŠU f) inserts ANŠE.KUR.RA si-
 mit-ti GIŠ.SUNDUN-ŠU g) u h) zi-kir i) omits -et- j) IGI-ya

Room 8¹: 10 epigraphs

BATTLE SCENES: 2 epigraphs

Slab A: originally 3 registers, upper register above the royal chariot
 to the right, a seven line inscription--lost

Slab A: middle register, above a besieged city, a two line inscription:

URU x x x.KI URU LUGAL-u-ti šá' KUR NIM.MA.KI
 x x x ak-x-x-ud[?] áš-ju-la šal-lat-su

x x x, royal city of Elam
 x x x I conquered[?] I carried off its plunder

GARDEN SCENE: 1 epigraphSlab A, upper register, above a line of men leading two Elamite kings carrying a "meal", a three line inscription:

] x [x x]-ti-šú SIG₅.MES šá' i-ram-mu gi-mir mal-ki šá' kis⁷-[šat]
] x [] LUGAL¹.MES šá' KUR NIM.MA.KI šá' ina KU-ti AN.ŠÁR u ^dnin-líl
 ik-šu-[da] šú.II-[ya]
] A² x [z] i-zu-ma nap-tan MAN. ti-šú-nu šú.II ra-me-ni-šú-nu
 e-pu-šá'-ma ú-še-rib-u-ni ina []

] his x, the good (things) they love, all the princes of the world []
] kings of Elam, whom with the encouragement of Assur and Ninlil, my
 hands conquered
] they stood, their royal meal they prepared with their own hands
 and they brought (it) before (me)

BATTLE SCENE: originally 3 registers. slab A, middle register, above a city in flames being dismantled, a two line inscription slightly right of center:

URU *ha-ma-nu* URU LUGAL-*u-ti* Šá KUR NIM.MA.KI *al-me* KUR-*ud*
 áš-*lu-la* Šal-*lat-su* *ap-pul* *aq-qur* *ina* ^d_{GIS}.BAR *aq-mu*

Hamānu, royal city of Elam, I surrounded, I conquered
 I carried off its plunder, I destroyed utterly, I burned in fire

Room 8¹: 5 epigraphs

HUNTING SCENES

Slab A-B: middle register on both sides of the king spearing a lion from a chariot, an eight line inscription (Streck, *Asb.* 308-309, 2):

a-na-ku ^d_{AN}.ŠÁR-DÙ-A MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI Šá ^d_{AN}.ŠÁR LUGAL
 DINGIR.MEŠ ^d₁₅ *be-let* ME Ši-mat *qar-ra-du-ti* *i-ši-mu-x* []
^d_{IGI.DU} *a-lik* *mah-ri* *ba-'-ú-ri* Šá EDIN *sal-tiš* ū-še-piš-an-ni *ki-i*
mul-ta-'-u-ti *a sal x* []
 ú-ši *ina* EDIN áš-ri *rap-ši* *la-ab-bi* *na-ad-[ru-u]-ti* *i-lit-ti* *bur-šá-a-*
ni ^d_{HUŠ.MEŠ} *it-bu-[]*
ii-mu-u ^d_{GIS.GIGIR} *ru-kub* LUGAL-*ti-ya* *ina* *qi-bit* ^d_{AN}.ŠÁR *u* ^d_[15]
 DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-ya x *it x ri x* []
 [] x *ni-ri-ya x* [] *el-lat* UR.MAH.MEŠ Šú-a-tu-[nu] *ú-par-re*^l-e

[] x x [^uu]r-ta-ki MAN KUR NIM.KI šá in-nab-tú-ma iš-ba-tú
 [GIR.II-ya]
 [] -nu-ti UR.MAH ina muh-hi-šú it-ba-ma x x [x x]
 [] ip-láh-ma u-sal-la-a ^{EN-u-ti}-ya

I, Assurbanipal, king of world, king of Assyria, for whom Assur, king
 of the gods, and Ishtar, lady of battle, decreed a heroic destiny.
 Nergal, who goes in front, caused me to hunt nobly upon the plain for
 pleasure . . .

I went out to the plain, a wide expanse, raging lions, a fierce,
 mountain breed, attacked []

They surrounded the chariot, my lordly vehical. At the command of
 Assur and Ishtar, the great gods, my lords . . .

[] my yoke [] those lions I scattered []
 [] U]rtaki, king of Elam, who fled and submitted [to me]
 [] a lion sprang upon him . . .
 [] he feared and he implored my lordship (for aid)

Slab C, upper register, a four line inscription (Streck, *Asb.* 308-309,§):

a-na-ku ^uAN.ŠÁK-DÚ-A MAN Šú MAN KUR AN.ŠAR.KI ina me-lul-ti [GAL-ya
 UR.MAH e]z-zu šá EDIN-šú TA ŠA GIŠ.na-bar-ti
 ú-še-šu-nim-ma ina GIR.II-ya ina GIŠ.KAK.TI ^ux-šú⁷ as-x [x x n]a-piš-
 ta-šú ul iq-ti
 ina qí-bit ^dIGI.DU LUGAL EDIN šá dun-nu zik-[ru-t]Ju ú-šat-[li-ma-a]n-ni

EGIR ina GÍR AN.BAR šib-bi-ya as-hul-šu [x] na-piš-tu' iš-kun

I, Assurbanipal, king of the world, king of Assyria, for my
great sport, an angry lion of the plain from a cage
they brought out. On foot, with an arrow, x times, I pie[rced him].
He did not die.

At the command of Nergal, king of the plain, who granted me strength
and manliness,
afterward with the iron dagger of my belt I stabbed him and he died

Slab C, middle register, a three line inscription (Streck, Asb. 304-307, β):

a-na-ku AN.ŠAR-DU-A MAN ŠU MAN AN.ŠAR.KI ina mul-ta-'-u-ti-ya ina
GÍR.II-ya UR.MAH ez-zu
ša EDIN-šu ina GESTU.II-šu as-bat-ma ina KU-ti AN.ŠAR u ^diš-tar
be-let ta-ha-zi
ina GIŠ.as-mar-e ša ŠU.II-ya as-hul zu-mur-šu

I, Assurbanipal, king of the world, king of Assyria, for my sport, a
fierce lion
of the plain, I seized by its ears. With the encouragement of Assur
and Ishtar, lady of battle, with my spear I pierced its body

Slab D, middle register, a four line inscription (Streck, Asb. 306-307, γ):

a-na-ku ^{III} AN.ŠAR-DÙ-A LUGAL ŠU LUGAL KUR AN.ŠAR.KI
 ina me-lul-ti NUN-ti-ya UR.MAH šá EDIN-šú ina KUN-šú as-bat-ma
 ina qí-bit ^dnin-urta ^dU.GUR DINGIR.MEŠ ti-ik-li-ya
 ina GIŠ.ḫu-ut-pal-e ša ŠU.II-ya muh-ha-šu ú-nat-ti

I, Assurbanipal, king of the world, king of Assyria, for my
 princely sport, a lion of the plain I seized by its tail.
 At the command of Ninurta and Nergal, the gods, my trust,
 with my mace I smashed its skull

Slab D, lower register, a three line inscription (Streck, *Asb.* 304-
 305, a):

a-na-ku ^{III} AN.ŠAR-DÙ-A LUGAL ŠU LUGAL KUR AN.ŠAR.KI šá AN.ŠAR
^dnin-líl e-mu-qí si-ra-a-ti
 ú-šat-li-mu-uš UR.MAH.MEŠ šá ad-du-ku GIŠ. til-pa-a-nu ez-ze-tú
 šá ^d15 be-let MÈ
 UGU-šu-un az-qu-up muh-ḫu-ru e-li-šú-nu ú-ma-ḫir GESTIN aq-qá-a
 e-li-šú-un

I, Assurbanipal, king of the world, king of Assyria, whom Assur and
 Ninlil have granted exalted strength.
 The lions that I killed, at whom I aimed the fierce bow of Ishtar,
 lady of battle,
 I set up an offering over them, I made an offering over them, (and)

I made a libation of wine over them

Room V¹/T¹: 2 epigraphs

Slabs A-C, (now missing, from a drawing)

Slab A, lower register above a royal chariot to the left, a five line inscription:

a-na-ku AN.ŠAR-DÙ-A MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR AN.ŠAR.KI
 Šá [ina qí-bit AN.ŠAR u] d nin-líl ik-šu-du su-um-me-rat lib-bi-šú
 URU di-⁷in⁷-[LUGAL] URU Ša KUR NIM.MA.KI
 al-[me] ak-[šu-ud] GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ GIŠ. su-um-bi ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ
 ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ [u-še-sa]-am-ma Šal-la-tiš am-[nu]

I, Assurbanipal, king of the world, king of Assyria,
 who, [at the command of Assur and] Ninlil, attained the
 desires of his heart

The city of Din-[sharri?], city of Elam,
 [I besieged, I conquered. Chariots,] carts, horses,
 [mules I brought out,] I counted as booty

Slab F (AO 19904), lower register, above a royal chariot to the, left a
 five line inscription:

a-na-[ku]	I [
Šá ina [qí-bit]	who at the [command of

LÚ.KÚR[the enemy[
ša [who[
áš-[lu-la	I plu[ndered

Miscellaneous Fragments: 2 epigraphs

(g) Vatican 14985 + 14996 on the walls of a city under siege, a one line inscription:

URU [E]-bu-na-ki URU [...]

City of Bit-Bunakki [royal] city of [Elam]]

(h) Institute of Archaeology Collections, Liverpool U. on the walls of a city under siege, a two line inscription:

[URU]-tu URU šá KUR [NIM.MA.KI al-me KUR-ud]
 [ap-pul aq]-qur ina ^dGIŠ.BAR [aq-mu]

XXX, city of Elam, I surrounded, I conquered
 [I destroyed utterly]ly I burned in fire

BATTLE SCENE: 1 epigraph

BM 124924, below the banks of a river, probably the lower register:

X. . . *uš a-na LUGAL-u-ti*

ASSURBANIPAL EPIGRAPHS IN SENNACHERIB'S PALACE

Room XXXIII

Slab 1, lower register, above a chariot racing left bearing Te-Umman's head, a four line inscription (3R, 37, Nr. 4, lines 23-26; Streck, *Asb. 312-313, y*):

SAG.DU ^{III}te-um-[*man* MAN KUR NIM.MA.KI]
 Ša ina MURUB ₄ tam-[*ba-ri* KU ₅-*su*]
 a-*bu*-ru-u ERIN.HI.A-¹ya² a-na bu-us-[*su-rat*]
 ha-de-e ū-*šah*-ma-*tu* a-na KUR AŠ+[*ŠUR.KI*]

Head of Te-Um[man king of Elam],
 which in the midst of bat[tle] a common
 soldier in my army [cut off]. To (give me) the good ne[ws],
 they hastily dispatched (it) to Assy[ria]

Slab 2, lower register, above an officer on the ground, a five line inscription (3R, 37, Nr. 2: 10-14; Streck, *Asb. 314-315, ſ*):

^{III}ur-¹*ta*²-*ku* *ha*-*ta*-*nu* ^{III}te-um-*man*^a
 Ša ina [*us-si*] *muh-bu-šu* *la* *iq-tū-u* ZI.MEŠ
 a-na *ra*¹-*na*²-[*kas*] SAG.DU *ra*-*ma*^b-*ni*-*šu* DUMU^c KUR AŠ+*ŠUR*^d
i-ša-si-[ma] *um-ma* *al-ka* SAG.DU^e KU ₅-*is*^f
 IGI^g LUGAL EN-*ka* *i-ši-*ma**² *le-e-qī* MU SIG₅-*tim*

Urtak, in-law of Te-Ummaan,
 who was wounded by an arrow, but did not die,
 to sever his own head, he called to an Assyrian
 thus: "come, cut off my head.
 Bring (it) before the king your lord and make a good name (for
 yourself)"

Cf. K.2674+ ii 4-7, *CT* 35, pl. 10; Weidner, *AfO* 8, Nr. 15. Variants:
 inscription in four lines a) omits name and title, blank space provided
 b) -me- c) adds MES^X d) adds KI e) adds MU f) adds -ma g) ma-har

Slab 3, lower register, in the melee of battle, 2 epigraphs: three line
 inscription (3R, 37, Nr. 5: 28-30; Streck, *Asb.* 310-313, a):

^Mte-~~um~~-^{ma}an ina mi-qit tē-e-me
 a-na DUMU.US-^X-^{šu} iq-bu-ū
 šu-le-e GIS.BAN

Te-Ummaan, in desperation,
 said to his son,
 "take up the bow!"

Cf. K.4527+, *CT* 35, pl. 41; Weidner, *AfO* 8, Nr. 7a. Variant:
 inscription in one line.

Slab 3, six line inscription over the figure of a man being beheaded

(3R, 37, Nr. 3: 16-21; Streck, *Asb.* 312-313, β):

^mte-um-man MAN KUR NIM.MA.KI $\check{š}$ a ina ME dan-ni
^msu \check{h} - \check{b} u- \check{s} u ^mta \check{m} -ri-i-tú DUMU- $\check{š}$ ú \check{G} AL¹-u
 $\check{š}$ U.II-su is-ba-tu-ma a-na $\check{š}$ u-zu-ub \check{Z} I.MES^{x,a}- $\check{š}$ u
 \check{in} -nab-tú \check{ib} -lu-pu qé-reb qis $\check{š}$ ti^b
 \check{ina} KU-ti AN. $\check{š}$ AR u ^d15 a-nar- $\check{š}$ u-nu-ti
SAG.DU- $\check{š}$ u-nu KU₅-is mi- \check{ib} -ret a- \check{ha} -mes^v

Te-Umman, king of Elam, who in fierce battle
was wounded, Tammaritu, his eldest son,
took him by the hand and to save (their) lives
they fled. They hid in the midst of a forest.
With the encouragement of Assur and Ishtar I killed them.
Their heads I cut off in front of each other

Cf. K.4527+, *CT* 35, pl. 41; Weidner, *AfO* 8, Nr. 9; *AfO* 23 90, 81-7-
27,246. Variants: K.4527+ inscription in 4+ lines, 81-7-27,246
inscription in 2 lines a) K.4527+ ZI- $\check{š}$ u-un b) 81-7-27,246 GIS.TIR ina
tu-kul-ti

Slab 4, upper register above two men being flayed, a three line

inscription (3R, 37, Nr. 7: 38-40; Streck, *Asb.* 316-317, γ):

^m (Blank) ^m (Blank) UGU AN. $\check{š}$ AR¹

DINGIR *ba-ni-ya iq-bu-ú sil-la-tú 'GAL¹-tu*
 EME-*šu'-nu^a áš-lu-up aš-hu-ṭa KUŠ-u^b-šu'-un*

[PN₁] and [PN₂]

spoke great insults against Assur, my creator,
 Their tongues I ripped out, their flesh I flayed

Cf. K.2674+ rev. i 1-4, CT 35, pl. 11; Sm.1350 rev. 13-edge, CT 35, pl. 31; Weidner, AfO 8, Nr. 28. Variant: in four lines, a) -un b) omits u

Slab 5, lower register, over a figure led by the hand by an Assyrian officer, a five line inscription (3R Nr. 6 32-35; Streck, Asb. 314-317, ~~2~~):

[^umm-*man*]-*i-gaš mun-nab-tú* IR *ša is-ba-tú* *GIR.II-ya^a*
ina e-peš pi-ya ina *HUL.MEŠ qe-[reb]* *KUR ma-dak-te*
u URU *['šu'-ša-an^b LÚ.šu-ut-SAG-ya šá [áš]-pu-ru*
ú-íše¹-rib-íma¹ [ú]-še-íšib¹-šu¹
ina *GIS.GU. 'ZA* ^u*te-um-[man šá ik]-'šu¹-da¹ šU.II-a-a*

[Ummān]igash, the fugitive, servant who submitted to me
 at my command, joyfully into the midst of Madaktu
 and Susa I caused my Shut-reshi, whom I sent, to enter and
 he set him on the throne of Te-Ummān, whom my hands conquered

Cf. K. 2674+ ii 11-14, CT 35, pl. 10; Weidner, AfO 8, Nr. 17.

variants: four lines a) -ya b) order of cities reversed

Slab 6, upper register, above a royal chariot, an eight line

inscription (3R, 37, Nr. 1: 1-8; Streck, *Asb.* 316-319, \mathcal{S}):

[a] - $\text{r}na^7$ -ku m AN.ŠAR^a-DU-A LUGAL KUR AS+ŠUR. [KI]^b
 [ša] ina^c KU-ti AN.ŠAR u^d15 EN.MEŠ-ya LU. [KUR.MEŠ]-ya?
 ak-šú-du am -šu ma -la $l\bar{b}$ -bi-ya^d m $\text{r}u^7$ -sa-a
 LUGAL KUR ur-ar- $\text{r}ta^e$ da-[na-an] AN. [ŠAR EN]-ya iš-me-ma
 pu-luh-tú LUGAL-ti-ya iš-hu-[up-šú-ma] LU.MAH.MEŠ-šú
 a-na šá-'-al šul-[me]-ya iš-pu-ra^f ana qé-reb 4.DINGIR.KI
^{ad}PA.SIG₅ m um-ba-da-ra-a LU.MAH.MEŠ šá KUR NIM.MA.KI
 it-ti GIŠ.ZU.MEŠ [ši]-pir me-ri-ih-tú ul-ziz ina mah-ri-šu-un^g

I, Assurbanipal, the king of the world, king of Assyria,
 with the encouragement of Assur and Istar my lords, my enemies
 I conquered. I attained whatever I wished. Rusa,
 king of Urartu, heard of the strength of Assur, my lord, and
 fear of my dominion overcame him; he sent his nobles
 to ask my health. In the midst of Arba-ili
 Nabu-damiq and Umbadara, nobles of Elam,
 with writing boards with messages of insolence I made (them) stand
 before them

Cf. Sm.1350 rev. 9-13, *CT* 35, pl. 31; Weidner, *AfO* 8, Nr. 27a. Variants:
 seven lines a) AS+ŠUR b) omits KI c) omits *ina KU-ti...l̪b-bi-ya*,

inserts LU.MAH.MEŠ d) **ur-sa-a** e) omits *da-na-an...iš-hu-up-ma* f) omits *ana qé-reb* 4.DINGIR g) adds [*ina tar]-ši-šú-un* **an-nu-ki-PAP.MEŠ** LU.II
du-na-ni PA!-ú-sal-li LU.Ša-UGU-URU-Šu EME-Šun áš-lu-up áš-hu-ta KUŠ-
 šú-un

Slab 6, lower register within the walls of a city:

KUR **ma-dak-te** land of Madaktu

EPIGRAPHS INSCRIBED ON PLAQUES FROM THE NORTH PALACE

Two plaques containing epigraphs that were probably affixed to reliefs have been found in private collections:

A. Published by Böhl in *AfO* 6 (1930-1931) 107:

[a-na-ku AN.ŠAR-DÙ]-A MAN ŠU MAN KUR AN.ŠAR.KI
 [ša ina KU-ti AN.ŠAR u ^d15 LU].KUR.MEŠ-šu ik-šu-du
 [UR]U E-^mlu-up-pi
 [al-me ak-šu-ud U]N.MEŠ a-šib l̄ib-bi-šu
 [GIŠ.GIGIR GIŠ. is-sum-bi] ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ
 [ANŠE.KUNGA.MEŠ ú-še-ša-an-na šal]-la-tiš am-nu

[I, Assurban]ipal, king of the world, king of Assyria,
 [who, with the encouragement of Assur and Ishtar] conquered his enemies
 [] Bit-Luppi
 [I besieged, I conquered.] The people who dwell therein,
 [chariots, carts,] horses, mules, I brought out, I counted as booty

B. Published by Bezold in *JANUS* 1 (1921) 116, Nr. 7:

BAD₅.BAD₅ ERIN.MEŠ-šun
 a ^mTe-um-man LUGAL
 ša qé-reb URU.til-tu-ú-bu ^mAN.ŠAR-DÙ-A^b
 MAN ŠU MAN KUR AN.ŠAR.KI ina la me-i-ni^c

id-du-ú LU.BE.MES^xd

The defeat of their troops
 Te-Uman, king,
 in which, in Til-tubu, Assurbanipal,
 king of the world, king of Assyria, without number,
 he cast down the corpses

Cf. K.2674 rev. 15-17, *CT* 35, pl. 11. Variants: in three lines, a)
 begins BAD₅.BAD₅ ERIN.HI.A ša b) inserts MAN GAL MAN *dan-nu* c) inserts
iš-ku-nu d) adds *qu-ra-di-šu*

FROM LOFTUS' NOTEBOOKS

A transliteration of an epigraph with the notation: "from a fragment of sculpture; battle scene North Palace Koyounjik" appears in one of Loftus' notesbook; published by Barnett, *Sculptures* 64.

[....]15 *u'-šam-qít-u-ma ik-šu-ra* ME *ina šur-ru-ut mit-hu-ši-šu* *ina*
URU[]

[....] *ša ú-tak-kil-ú-in-ni* ERIN.HI.A *mi-iš-tu* BAD₅.BAD₅ ERIN.HI.A
[iš-ku-nu...]

[....-š] *u'-un šit-ta-tu-šú-nu šá* *ina* BAD₅.BAD₅ *ip-par-šid-du*
pa-na[....]

[....]MAN *ki-a-am i-qab-bu-u um-ma la ta-pal-lah* AS+SUR.KI

[... Assur and] Ishtar conquered (and) he prepared for war. At the beginning of his battle in the city[]

[] who encourages me, few soldiers [they inflicted] a defeat []

[] their X, the rest of them who fled in battle []

[] Thus they spoke: "Fear not." Assur []

GLOSSARY

Several terms used throughout this dissertation are briefly defined here with references to the full discussion of the term in the text.

Abstract: An abstract is a short summary statement typically found at the beginning of a *girru* account. It generally identifies the target of the military action and its outcome. The motivation for the campaign often appears as part of the abstract, usually in the form of epithets attached to name of the target of the campaign (see discussion pp. 121 and 238ff.).

Annals: The term annals is a modern designation for a group of building inscriptions which contains accounts of military accomplishments. Typically written on prisms and cylinders, the annals appear first in the Middle Assyrian period and seem to be an exclusively Assyrian literary form. They usually begin with the name of the king with his titles and epithets, followed by a narration of the king's military accomplishments, and end with an inscription commemorating the (re)building of an important structure. The annals were narrated in the first person and the military account was usually arranged chronologically. In the time of the Assyrian kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal the military accounts were always arranged geographically. The composition and development of the form of the annals is discussed on pp. 19-48; a specific discussion of the form of

the annals at the time of Assurbanipal is given on pp. 233ff.

Annalistic texts: The term annalistic refers to texts which contain substantial accounts of military campaigns similar to those found in the annals. Inscribed on tablets, prisms, or cylinders they are usually too fragmentary to assign to a particular genre (see p. 20).

Campaign: The discussion uses the term campaign solely to refer to actual military action. That is, the actual movement of the army toward its objective, the battle or seige, the spoilation of the conquered area and the return to Assyria. Campaign narratives may form all or part of a *girru* account (see discussion, pp. 49-50 and below "girru").

Chronological link: a chronological link is a reference in the narrative to another historical event which is intended to link, chronologically the events being narrated to another event (see discussion pp. 159ff.).

Coda: Coda refers to that part of a *girru* narrative which signals the closure of the narration of events which are the subject of the *girru* account as defined by the abstract. It usually takes the form of the return march to Assyria. It may also include additional information which forms a bridge to the next *girru* account (see discussion pp. 121 and 238ff.).

Edition: An edition is one of a series of inscriptions reissued at different times and which differs from the others by alterations, additions, or omissions. The recasting may affect all or part of the introduction, military narration, or building inscription (see discussion pp. 19-20).

Episode: An episode is an individual event that is narrated in an inscription. The designation "episode" is a modern delineation for the convenience of the scholar (see p. 20).

Girru: The Akkadian word *girru* is literally translated "campaign." The word appears commonly in the annals of Assurbanipal in the opening phrase or in the abstract to an individual military account in the phrase, "in my nth *girru*." Since these accounts often report more events than the military action itself (i.e., the campaign) they are referred to as *girru* accounts in the discussion. The term *girru* narrative occurs in contexts that describe literary or structural features of a *girru* account (see above "Campaign" and pp. 49-50).

Manuscript: A manuscript is a copy of an inscription. Building inscriptions could be produced in many copies for deposit in different parts of a building foundation, or in an archive, or for display (see p. 20).

Orientation: The orientation is that part of the *girru* narrative which describes the events which led up to the military action to be

described or identifies the participants in the narratives. An orientation section usually follows the abstract but orienting elements can be found throughout the narrative (see p. 121).

Sub-edition: The term sub-edition refers to the occurrence of editions of the annals which are nearly identical but which contain certain variants which some scholars consider to be significant, usually involving only a few lines of text and which can be shown to be perpetuated to some degree; that is, the variants must appear in more than one manuscript of the inscription (see discussion p. 20 and comment in Chapter Two, n. 125).

Summary Inscription: These inscriptions are often confused with annals editions, because they are structurally very similar. They contain an introduction, military narration, and building inscription. The distinction lies in the summary nature of the military narration. These inscriptions never introduce the military accounts with any of the phrases typical of the annals ("in the eponomy x", "in my nth regnal year", "in my nth campaign"). See discussion pp. 26-28.

Recension: this term as it used in this discussion refers exclusively to the recasting of individual *girru* narratives or episodes in the annals. The narratives may be recopied verbatim in all known editions and therefore have only one recension or they may be rewritten for each edition and therefore have as many recensions as there are editions (see discussion p. 20).

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